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ANGLO-SAXON
AND NORSE POEMS

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ANGLO-SAXON AND NORSE POEMS

EDITED AND TRANSLATED

BY

N. KERSHAW

CAMBRIDGE
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

1922

TO THE MEMORY OF
ALEXANDER LAWSON, D.D.
PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH IN THE UNIVERSITY OF ST ANDREWS

PREFACE

IT is generally agreed that the first six pieces included in this book are among the most interesting examples of Anglo-Saxon poetry which have come down to us; yet with one or two exceptions they have received comparatively little attention from English scholars. The Norse pieces which follow, are still less known in this country. They have all been translated into English before—one of them (the *Darraðarljóð*) as far back as 1768; but most of these translations are in verse. Prose translations and commentaries are few in number, and are now practically inaccessible to the majority of students.

Almost all the poems, both English and Norse, may be, and frequently are, described as 'lyrics,' though this description is not strictly appropriate to their metrical form, except perhaps in the case of parts of Nos. VII, IX, and X. The general resemblance between the poems on the battle of Brunanburh (No. VI) and the battle of Hafsford (No. VIII) is obvious. But on the whole the reader will probably be struck by the absence of resemblance between the two sets of poems. It is a singular fact that the first five pieces contain no proper names, whereas an Index Nominum for the Norse poems would make a considerable list. And this is not due to any arbitrary method of selection. Poems of the abstract character seen in Nos. I—V are not to be found in early Norse literature, while no true Anglo-Saxon parallels are to be found for Nos. IX—XII. This is due in part, no doubt, to the difference of faith, for most of the Norse poems date from heathen times. But another and perhaps more important reason lies in the fact that the Norse poems are concerned with specific events, whereas the subjects of the Anglo-Saxon poems are detached from any such associations.

The last piece (No. XIII) is of a somewhat different character from the rest. It belongs to the same category as the heroic poems of the *Edda*, especially the *Atlakviða*, and is

related more distantly to the Anglo-Saxon fragments which deal with the stories of Finn and Waldhere. My reason for including it in this collection is that it is not contained in any of the editions of the *Edda*. I think that it will appeal to students of heroic poetry.

My thanks are due to the Rev. Canon McLaren, Librarian of the Cathedral Library at Exeter, for the trouble which he has taken on several occasions in allowing me to consult the ms. of the *Exeter Book*, and to both him and Mrs McLaren for much kindness which I have received from them while in Exeter; to Sir Geoffrey Butler, Librarian of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, for the facilities which he has afforded me for consulting the Parker ms. of the Saxon Chronicle and other MSS.; to Mr E. J. Thomas of Emmanuel College and of the University Library, Cambridge, and to Miss C. H. Wedgwood of Newnham College, Cambridge, who have kindly read the proofs for me and made many helpful suggestions. I wish further to thank the Syndics of the University Press for undertaking the publication of the book, and the staffs of the University Press and of the University Library for their unfailing courtesy while the work was in progress. Above all I have to thank Professor Chadwick who has unreservedly placed the results of his own labours at my disposal, both in the translation and in the commentary, and to whom I am heavily indebted for criticism and help throughout the work.

N. K.

February, 1922.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Vígfusson, Dict.—An Icelandic-English Dictionary, by R. Cleasby and G. Vígfusson. Oxford, 1874.

Fritzner, Dict.—Ordbog over det gamle norske Sprog. Christiania, 1886—1896.

F. Jónsson, Dict.—Revised edition of Sveinbjörn Egilsson's *Lexicon Poeticum Antiquae Linguae Septentrionalis*. Copenhagen, 1916.

B. and T., Dict.—Bosworth and Toller, Anglo-Saxon Dictionary. Oxford, 1882—1898.

B. and T., Suppl.—Supplement to the above, by J. N. Toller, Parts I—III. Oxford, 1908—1921.

Saxo, Dan. Hist.—Saxo Grammaticus, *Gesta Danorum*, ed. Holder, Strassburg, 1886. In Books I—IX the references are to the pages of O. Elton's translation. London, 1894.

INTRODUCTION

THE MANUSCRIPT SOURCES OF EARLY NORSE AND ENGLISH POETRY

THE history of the texts contained in this volume presents some curious contrasts. The Norse pieces were composed at various times between the ninth and eleventh centuries, but they were probably not committed to writing before the thirteenth century—or at earliest before the last decades of the twelfth—when they were incorporated in prose works. During the next two hundred years these works appear to have been frequently copied. Then came a period during which the early literature fell into neglect everywhere. The revival of interest began in Scandinavian lands about 1630, and the MSS. which survived—chiefly in Iceland—were eagerly sought and copied. Unfortunately the largest collection of MSS., belonging to the University Library at Copenhagen, was almost entirely destroyed by fire in 1728. So many copies however had been made during the previous century that as a general rule there is little doubt as to the readings of the lost MSS.

The history of the English texts contained in this volume presents a curious contrast to that of the Norse (cf. p. 72 ff. below). Anglo-Saxon literature was apparently forgotten almost everywhere by the middle of the twelfth century, a time when written Norse literature was still in its infancy. Its rediscovery took place in the sixteenth century, about a hundred years earlier than the revival of Norse literature. But only a comparatively small amount of Anglo-Saxon poetry was preserved in prose works, and of the purely poetical texts few were copied or published before the beginning of the nineteenth century—the chief exception being Junius's Biblical poems in 1655. Four MS. volumes, one of which is in Italy, contain nearly all that is left of Anglo-Saxon poetry.

The first five of the pieces given below are taken from the *Codex Exoniensis*, the fullest and most important of the surviving MSS. This book was presented to the Library of Exeter Cathedral by Bishop Leofric, who held the see between the years 1050 and 1072, and it is still preserved there. A list of the bishop's donations to the Cathedral and the Library was drawn up about the same time, and a copy of this, in a hand almost contemporary with that of the *Exeter Book*, has been bound in the same volume, along with some late charters and documents referring to the Cathedral. This list is printed in an Appendix on p. 206 f. below, and in it will be found a notice of a *mycel Englisc boc* which no doubt refers to our MS. The Codex¹ is a fine vellum, beautifully written in a clear large hand, though the little decoration which it contains is crude². It is generally believed to date from about three-quarters of a century before Leofric's time³. Much of the concluding part of the book has been rendered illegible by some object, possibly a piece of burning wood, having been dropped on the last leaves and allowed to smoulder there for some time. This accounts for the lacunae in the *Husband's Message* and the *Ruin*.

The earliest known copy of the *Exeter Book* is a facsimile which was made by one R. Chambers for the British Museum in 1831 (MSS. Add. 9067). Apparently it was then possible to read rather more of the MS. than is now legible, and the copy has proved to be of some use—though rather as a check upon proposed restorations of mutilated passages than as a means of supplying lacunae⁴.

Few close parallels to the five pieces from this Codex can be found in Anglo-Saxon literature. Analogies may be looked for in certain passages in *Beowulf*, and in the latter part of Hymn IV (Grein, *Bibl.* II, p. 217). But most of the poetry which has come down to us is essentially religious in character.

¹ For details of the *Exeter Book* and its contents see Wülker, *Grundriss zur Geschichte der angelsächsischen Litteratur* (Leipzig, 1885), p. 218 ff.

² Cf. p. 37 below.

³ Cf., however, A. S. Cook, *The Christ of Cynewulf* (Boston, 1909), p. xvi.

⁴ For some account of Chambers's copy cf. Tupper, *The Riddles of the Exeter Book* (Boston, etc., 1910), p. xcvi f.; Anscombe, *Anglia*, xxxiv, p. 526; Chambers, *Anglia*, xxxv, p. 393 f.; and Tupper, *Anglia*, xxxvi, p. 285 f.

Yet it is difficult to see how such poems as these with which we are dealing could have come into existence unless there was a considerable body of secular poetry current at the time when they were composed. The explanation is doubtless to be found in the facts pointed out above. It is probable that no English libraries survived the period of the Norman Conquest, except those which belonged to religious houses; and in these, naturally enough, secular poems would be far less popular than religious works.

From what has been said it will be clear that the difficulties encountered in editing Norse and Anglo-Saxon poems are of a somewhat different character. In the latter case the editor has seldom to deal with more than one MS. When this has been damaged or erroneously copied his only resources are analogy or conjecture; otherwise his problems will be merely those of interpretation. On the other hand the editor of a Norse poem, especially poems quoted in the early histories of Norway, will probably have to consider a number of MSS. which may present several different readings in the same passage, all giving at least an intelligible sense¹. Very often he will have to study somewhat complicated problems of literary history before he can judge with safety between the claims of the various texts.

The orthography of the Anglo-Saxon poems presents no difficulties. Apart from the expansion of a few contractions, and except in cases where emendation is required, it is customary to print the texts as contained in the MSS., and I have not departed from the usual practice. In the *Battle of Brunanburh* I have followed the text of the earliest MS. except in a few cases where it is obviously wrong.

¹ This is doubtless the reason why editors of Norse texts are in general in the habit of treating their MS. authorities with far greater freedom than would be allowed in the case of Anglo-Saxon texts. The *Sonatorrek* in particular has been emended in most editions to such an extent that it has almost become a new poem. It is especially to be regretted that the editors do not systematically record the readings of at least the more important MSS. For the purposes of a book like this, which is concerned rather with interpretation than with textual criticism, and which contains poems from many different sagas, one is necessarily dependent on editions of the sagas and of individual MSS.; and it is unfortunate that the actual readings of the MSS. are sometimes to be ascertained only with great difficulty if at all. There appear to have been many errors of transcription also, even in recent editions.

With Norse poems on the other hand the editor's course is by no means so clear, owing to the large number of MSS. involved. There is a considerable amount of variation in the orthography¹—both between one MS. and another, and in the individual MSS. themselves—a variation which is due in part to the preservation here and there of archaic forms. Normalisation in some form or other is almost universally adopted by editors, and the usual practice is to normalise in favour of the more archaic forms². This practice frequently has the advantage of preserving the metre, but at the same time it involves the editor in many difficulties³. No texts, except a few inscriptions, have come down to us from the times of Hornklofi or Egill, and the language of these poets is in reality irrecoverable. The result of the normalising process is too often, I fear, a cento of forms belonging to various periods. The Norse texts however have certain advantages over the Anglo-Saxon texts, owing to the fact that something is generally known, both of the poets themselves, and of the historical works in which the poems are incorporated⁴—sometimes indeed even of the scribes, in both the earlier and later periods. The chief advantage however is that the historians themselves often draw from the poems which they quote, and thus furnish a guide to the meaning of difficult passages.

¹ E.g. in the representation of the sound arising from *a* by labialisation. In this book *ö* is used in accordance with later Icelandic usage. German editions generally use *o*.

² E.g. in the use of *es*, 's for *er*—the relative particle, and 3 sing. pres. indic. of *vera* (*vesa*).

³ In accordance with general custom I have printed *sás* where the MSS. have *sjá er*. But is this substitution really justifiable?

⁴ This is of course true also in the case of No. VI below, though the author is unknown.

I. THE WANDERER

This poem is preserved only in the *Exeter Book* (fol. 76 f.), where it is preceded by *Juliana* and followed by the *Bi Manna Cræftum*. Like most Anglo-Saxon poems it is anonymous, and, like the four following pieces, it is generally described either as lyric or as elegiac. The metre, however, is the ordinary quadruple-stressed alliterative verse, which probably had its origin in narrative poetry, but which has practically ousted all other forms of verse in Anglo-Saxon literature. There is no trace of any division into strophes or stanzas; the relationship of the verse to the sentence is, as usual, the same as in the epic. These remarks also apply to the pieces which follow.

No title is assigned to the poem in the MS., but since the time of Thorpe it has been generally known as *The Wanderer*. This title is not a particularly happy one. It does not apply at all to the latter part of the poem, and even in the first part it would have been possible to choose a more appropriate term for the person whose position is described.

The poem falls into two main sections, of which only the first deals with a 'wanderer'—or rather a homeless man of the upper class who has lost his lord. The second main section consists of reflections upon a ruin. The connection between the two parts—and indeed the sequence of thought throughout the poem—is not very clear. The general theme however is the transitoriness of prosperity, tempered by the reflection, which is introduced both at the beginning and the end, that relief from misery may be expected from God's mercy.

In the opening lines the poet reflects that those whose lot it is to traverse the wintry sea in solitude and sorrow look for the mercy of God. In l. 6 we are introduced to a homeless man who has lost all his friends in war. In his speech (l. 8 ff.) he bewails the cruel fate which he has to bear in silence and solitude. Such has been his lot ever since, long ago, he lost the prince whom he had served, and set out over the sea in the

hope of finding some lord who would befriend him. At l. 29 begins a series of reflections on the hardships and bitterness of his situation. A vivid picture is drawn of the memories and visions of past friends which haunt him in his dreams. From this the poet passes in l. 58 to general considerations on the transitoriness and misery of human life, and so leads up to a series of maxims on conduct expressed in gnomic form. The last maxim consists of an injunction to the wise to remember that nothing is permanent, and this idea suggests to the poet's mind the picture (l. 75 f.) of a ruined castle, the owners of which have all perished. In ll. 92—110 we have the speech of an imaginary person surveying such a ruin—apparently a stone building of the Roman period. The second speech ends with further reflections on the transitoriness of earthly things (ll. 106—110). Again the poet passes, though very briefly (l. 112 ff.), to general maxims on the conduct of life, and concludes (ll. 114, 115), as he began, with the observation that relief from troubles is only to be obtained by God's mercy.

It will be seen that two speeches are contained in the poem. The first begins at l. 8; the second begins at l. 92 and ends at l. 110. The point at which the first speech ends is not clear, and it is a remarkable fact that no inverted commas have been ventured for the end of this speech in the editions of Grein, Wülcker, Sweet and Sieper, although they are used at ll. 8, 92, 110. The choice seems to lie between ll. 29, 62, and 87.

The vocabulary of the poem is somewhat unusual and presents a considerable number of ἀπαξ λεγόμενα, e.g. *modcearig*, *gliw-stæf*, *cwidegiedd*, *geondþencan*, *hrædwyrde*, *feohgifre*, *biwawne*, *hryðge*, *dreorighleor*, *wealsteal*, *hrið*, *hæglfare*, *gesteal*. On the other hand the poem contains many of the stock ideas of Anglo-Saxon poetry. The hour before dawn is conventionally chosen as the time when discomfort or grief is most acutely felt (cf. the *Wife's Complaint*, l. 35); the hospitable and generous *goldwine*, the wintry sea, the crumbling ruin, the transitoriness of earth and all that it holds—all these things are to be found mentioned or described in precisely similar phrases elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon poetry, while the diction

and phrasing find many echoes¹ in the Blickling Homilies and Wulfstan's sermons.

Christian ideas are not very prominent on the whole, though they are obvious in ll. 1 f., 85, 114 f. The use of 'this' in connection with words denoting 'world' (e.g. ll. 58, 62, 75) points in the same direction, and so too, probably, do the expressions *woruldrice* and *eorþan rice* (ll. 65, 106). Many scholars also believe that the list in l. 80 ff. and the rhetorical questions in l. 92 ff. are derived from Latin works of a religious character². It is in the last ten lines (106—115), however, that Christian influence is most prominent. Yet even here l. 108 presents an interesting parallel to the heathen *Hávamál*, and l. 107 contains a reference to the Fates—an idea clearly derived from heathen mythology. Other references to Fate (in the singular), more or less personified, occur in ll. 5, 15, 100. The poem therefore shows a curious confusion of Christian and heathen ideas, somewhat similar to what is found in *Beowulf*.

The same confusion may be traced in the references to ethical principles. The conclusion of the poem is definitely Christian, but elsewhere the virtues inculcated are rather those which appear to have been specially emphasised by the public opinion of the Teutonic aristocracy in heathen times, such as fortitude under hardships, generosity, bravery, prudence. Here again the outlook is similar to that of *Beowulf*.

Gnomic utterances are much in evidence—especially in ll. 11—18, 62—72, 106 ff.—another feature which this poem has in common with *Beowulf*, as well as with pieces in which such utterances form the main theme. In this category we may perhaps include the *Bi Manna Wyrðum*, which resembles the latter part of the *Wanderer* in several features, partly owing to the similarity of the theme. The most striking parallel occurs in l. 80 ff. of the *Wanderer* where, in addition to resemblance in subject-matter, the same formula is employed as in the former poem.

Parallels may also be traced between the *Wanderer* and the

¹ Instances are cited in the notes below.

² See the notes to these passages.

Seafarer: (1) in the description of the winter storm, *S.* l. 31 f.; *W.* l. 102 f. (2) in references to the past splendour of the world, *S.* l. 86 f.; *W.* l. 79 f. (3) in the poetical device of emphasising the misery of a seafaring life by contrasting it with a life of luxury on land, *S.* ll. 20 f., 44 f.; *W.* l. 32 f. (4) in the curiously recurring lines *S.* 12, 55 (cf. 27); *W.* ll. 29, 37. All these features may however be accounted for by similarity of subject and a common poetic convention. A closer and deeper analogy to the first scene in the *Wanderer* is to be found in *Beowulf* (ll. 2233—2270); in the episode of the last survivor of a generation and a chivalry that has passed away. Another parallel in the latter poem is presented by the scene of the bereaved father (ll. 2444—2459), which also bears a resemblance to a passage in the *Bi Manna Wyrðum* (ll. 33—42).

The second scene in the *Wanderer* has much in common with the *Ruin*, though this again is due largely to the nature of the subject. As instances we may cite¹ *W.* l. 87 *eald enta geweorc*; *R.* l. 2 *enta geweorc*. *W.* l. 88 *þisne wealsteal*; *R.* l. 1 *þæs wealstan*, l. 21 *burgsteall*. *W.* l. 98 *weal...wyrmlícum fah*; *R.* l. 9 f. *wag...readfah*—and the following passages:

<i>W.</i> l. 77 f.	<i>R.</i> l. 20 f.
hryðge þa ederas, woriað þa winsalo;	wurdon hyra wigsteal westen- staþolas, brosnade burgsteall.
<i>W.</i> l. 78 f.	<i>R.</i> l. 6 f.
waldend licgað dreame bidro- rene;	eorðgrap hafað waldend wyrhtan forweorone geleorone.
<i>W.</i> l. 79 f.	<i>R.</i> l. 21 f.
duguð eal gecrong wlonc bi wealle;	betend crungon, hergas to hrū- san.
<i>W.</i> l. 100	<i>R.</i> l. 17
Wyrd seo mære;	Wyrd seo swiþe.

The resemblances pointed out above between the *Wanderer* and *Beowulf* favour the view that the former was composed during the earlier part of the Saxon period. Indeed this is commonly held to be the case with all the poems which we have been discussing². We have no reason to suppose that

¹ Cf. Sieper, *Die altenglische Elegie* (Strassburg, 1915), p. 198.

² Schücking however refers (*Kleines angelsächsisches Dichterbuch*, Cöthen, 1919) nearly all these poems to the tenth century; but he holds that even *Beowulf* is not earlier than the close of the ninth.

the *Wanderer* is one of the earliest of these poems. The evidence as to date is indeed largely inferential, and not very satisfactory. Like the rest of the poems in the *Exeter Book* it has come down to us in the form of language generally used in poetical MSS. dating from the end of the tenth century, i.e. what is known as Late West Saxon, with a certain number of forms which belong to an earlier period and a different part of the country. The most trustworthy linguistic criterion which has yet been found for determining the date of Anglo-Saxon poems is the use of the article—especially its presence or absence before a 'weak' adj. in combination with the noun. In the *Wanderer* the article (or demonstrative pronoun) is always found in this position—which is against the usage of the earliest poems¹. But the number of cases (four in all) is so small that this criterion can hardly be said to afford any very decisive indication as to date².

It has been frequently suggested that the poem as we have it is of composite origin. Some scholars believe that the Christian passages at the beginning and the end are later additions, others that the original poem ended at l. 62. Into such questions I cannot enter here; it is obvious, however, that anonymous poems of this character would admit of such extension as is suggested, and the apparent want of coherence in the poem lends some colour to the idea. Again the inconsistencies pointed out above in regard to religious conceptions and ethical standards bear witness no doubt to a change of faith. But it does not necessarily follow that the poem was originally composed before the conversion of the English. The fact that the Christian ideas are more prominent towards the end of the poem may indeed point to a change of environment, but this might just as well be local as chronological. From the seventh century onwards the popularity of references to

¹ In Cynewulf's poems, which are generally assigned to the ninth century, and perhaps to the earlier half of it, the article occurs in this construction in about eight out of nine cases.

² Richter (*Chronologische Studien zur angelsächsischen Literatur*, Halle, 1910, p. 96) dates it at c. 750–800. Brandl (*Geschichte der altenglischen Literatur*, Strassburg, 1908, p. 878) on the other hand brings it down to about the time of Alfred, and suggests that the disasters of 867–870 may be reflected in l. 75 ff. But this explanation will hardly suit the required conditions in either the first or the second part of the poem.

God or Fate, to Christian principles or the old military and aristocratic ideals, would doubtless vary in different courts and households, to say nothing of the religious houses. Indeed in some respects the old ideals maintained their strength nearly to the end of the Saxon period.

But after all it is a question of minor importance whether the poem originated in the seventh, eighth, or ninth century. The really interesting question is how such a peculiar type of composition came into existence; and this question affects not only the *Wanderer* but also the four following pieces (pp. 16—57). If we seek for a common definition applicable to these five poems, we may perhaps describe them as (somewhat elaborate) studies of situation or emotion applied to imaginary and nameless persons who are detached from any definite associations of time or place. The same description holds good for the two passages in *Beowulf* cited above—those relating to the ‘last survivor’ and the ‘bereaved father’ respectively—as well as for other passages in the same poem, e.g. the account of the ‘arrogant man’ in ll. 1728—1757. Similar studies are not uncommon in modern literature, but the characters, though imaginary, are not as a rule nameless. On the other hand in early Norse poetry, as in Greek tragedy¹, the usual practice was to choose for such studies scenes from heroic stories²—i.e. the subjects are characters of the past, not fictions of the poet’s imagination. Instances may be found among the poems of the *Edda*, e.g. the ‘Lamentation of Guthrún’ (*Guðrúnarkviða I*) or ‘Brynhildr’s Ride to Hell’ (*Helreið Brynhildar*). The relationship of such studies to the Anglo-Saxon type may be appreciated by comparing the first of these poems with Tennyson’s poem on the same theme. The simplification shown by the latter is probably required by this type, and would doubtless have appeared in an Anglo-Saxon poem on the subject—which however would

¹ Instances are not uncommon in the Old Testament also, e.g. the elegy of David over Saul and Jonathan (2 Sam. i. 19 ff.), unless this is really a contemporary poem.

² It was apparently not until the twelfth century that stories other than heroic were used for this purpose (e.g. *Hjálmar’s Death Song* in *Örvar-Odds Saga*).

have opened with some such conventional phrase as e.g. 'Sorrowful is the heart of a wife when her warrior is brought home dead,' or 'I can tell how my warrior was brought home dead.'

The fondness for this nameless, timeless type of poetry is probably to be connected with the popularity of riddle poetry, and with the absence of any poetry which can properly be regarded as historical. Anglo-Saxon poetry contains hardly any reference to historical persons and events between the end of the Heroic Age and the time of Aethelstan—a period of over three centuries and a half. Stories of saints, such as St Guthlac, are almost the only exceptions, and in these the historical element is reduced to a minimum.

It would seem that what appealed most to the poets of that period was a description of situations or emotions which were free from personal associations. And the majority of readers will probably agree that it is in such descriptions—both in our poems and in the passages from *Beowulf* cited above—that Anglo-Saxon poetry appears at its best, whereas the weak point lies in construction—in want of coherence between the different parts of the poem. It strikes us as rather strange that so abstract a type of poetry should have prevailed in an age which we are accustomed to regard as barbarous. But the fact must be borne in mind that we have evidence, e.g. in the stories of Caedmon¹ and St Aldhelm², for an unusually wide cultivation of poetry, at least in the earlier part of this period³—apparently among all classes; and it may be that the intellectual standard of the age was higher than is generally recognised.

¹ Cf. Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* iv, 24.

² Cf. William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontif.* (Rolls Series) v, § 190.

³ In later times we may refer e.g. to the songs sung at funerals which Aelfric condemned. Cf. *Canons of Ælfric*, cap. 35 (ed. Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, 1840, Vol. i, p. 356 f.).

THE WANDERER

Oft him anhaga are gebideð,
 metudes miltse, þeah þe he modcearig
 geond lagulade longe sceolde
 hreran mid hondum hrimcealde sæ,
 5 wadan wræclastas. Wyrð bið ful aræd!
 Swa cwæð eardstapa earfeþa gemyndig,
 wrapra wælsleahta, winemæga hryre;
 'Oft ic sceolde ana uhtna gehwylce
 mine ceare cwipan. Nis nu cwicra nan
 10 þe ic him modsefan minne durre
 sweotule asecgan. Ic to soþe wat
 þæt biþ in eorle indryhten þeaw
 þæt he his ferdlocan fæste binde,
 healde¹ his hordcofan, hycge swa he wille.
 15 Ne mæg werigmod Wyrde wiðstandan,
 ne se hreo hyge helpe gefremman.
 For ðon domgeorne dreorigne oft
 in hyra breostcofan bindað fæste.
 Swa ic modsefan minne sceolde
 20 oft earmcearig, eðle bidæled,
 freomægum feor feterum sælan,
 sipþan geara iu goldwine minne²
 hrusan (heolster) biwrah, and ic hean þonan
 wod wintercearig ofer wæþema⁴ gebind,
 25 sohte sele dreorig sinces bryttan,
 hwær ic feor opþe neah findan meahte
 þone þe in meoduhealle min⁵ mine wisse,
 opþe mec freondleasne⁶ frefran wolde,
 wenian mid wynnum. Wat se þe cunnað
 30 hu sliþen bið sorg to geferan
 þam þe him lyt hafað leofra geholena.

¹ em. Thorpe (? *healde*), *healdne* MS.³ em. Ettmüller, *heolstre* MS.⁵ em. Klaeber, om. MS.² em. Thorpe (*mine*), *mine* MS.⁴ em. Thorpe (cf. l. 57), *wæþena* MS.⁶ em. Thorpe, *freondlease* MS.

THE WANDERER

The solitary man is constantly looking for mercy and God's compassion, though over the watery ways with gloomy heart he has long had to stir with his arms the icy sea, treading the paths of exile. Fate is absolutely fixed!

These are the words of a wanderer whose memory was full of troubles and cruel carnage, wherein his dear kinsmen had fallen:

'Ever it has been my lot to bewail my sorrows in solitude in the twilight of each morning. There is now no one left alive to whom I dare tell frankly the feelings of my heart. I know truly that it is a mark of nobility in a knight that he should fasten securely and keep to himself the treasury in which his thoughts are stored—think what he will! For all his grief of heart a man cannot resist Fate, nor can his troubled spirit give him any help. And so those who are eager to be of good report generally keep their sorrow imprisoned in the secret chamber of the heart.'

'I myself too, in my misery and distress, have constantly had to bind my feelings in fetters—exiled from home and far from my kinsmen—ever since the day when the dark earth closed over my generous lord, and I wandered away over the expanse of waters, destitute and distraught with the dangers of winter, looking in sorrow for the abode of a generous prince—if far or near I could find one who would feel regard for me in his banqueting hall, or comfort me in my friendlessness and entertain me with good cheer.'

It will be realised by him who experiences it what a cruel companion anxiety is to one who has no kind protector. His

- Warað hine wræclast, nales wunden gold,
 ferðloca freorig, nalæs foldan blæd.
 Gemon he selesecgas and sincþege,
 35 hu hine on geoguðe his goldwine
 wenede to wiste. Wyn eal gedreas!
 For þon wat se þe sceal his winedryhtnes
 leofes larcwidum longe forþolian;
 ðonne sorg and slæp somod ætgædre
 40 earmne anhogan oft gebindað,
 þinceð¹ him on mode þæt he his mondryhten
 clyppe and cysse, and on cneo læge²
 honda and heafod, swa he hwilum ær
 in geardagum giefstolas breac.
 45 Ðonne onwæcneð eft wineleas guma,
 gesihð him biforan fealwe wegas;
 baþian brimfuglas, brædan feþra,
 hreosan hrim and snaw hagle gemenged.
 Ðonne beoð þy hefigran heortan benne,
 50 sare æfter swæsne, sorg bið geniwað,
 þonne maga gemynd mod geondhweorfeð.
 Greteð gliwstafum, georne geondsceaweð.
 Secga geseldan swimmað eft³ onweg;
 fleotendra ferð no þær fela bringeð
 55 cuðra cwidegiedda; cearo bið geniwað
 þam þe sendan sceal swiþe geneahhe
 ofer waþema gebind werigne sefan.
 For þon ic geþencan ne mæg geond þas woruld
 for hwan modsefa min ne⁴ gesweorce,
 60 þonne ic eorla lif eal geondþence—
 hu hi færllice flet ofgeafon,
 modge maguþegnas— swa þes middangeard
 ealra dogra gehwam dreoseð and fealleþ.
 For þon ne mæg wearþan wis wer ær he age
 65 wintra dæl in woruldrice. Wita sceal geþyldig,
 ne sceal no to hatheort, ne to hrædwyrde,
 ne to wac wiga, ne to wanhydig,

¹ em. Thorpe, *þinceð* MS.³ em. Thorpe (? *eft*), *oft* MS.² so Thorpe, etc., *læge* MS.⁴ em. Grein, *modsefan minne* MS.

thoughts are full of homeless wanderings—not of gold rings; of his shivering breast—not of the good things of the earth. He calls to mind the men of the hall and the giving of treasure, and how when he was young he was entertained to his heart's content by his generous lord. But now all his happiness has passed away!

It will be realised, assuredly, by him who will have to forego for all time the instructions of his dear lord and friend. Ever when distress and sleep together lay hold on the poor solitary, he dreams that he is greeting and kissing his liege-lord, and laying his hands and head on his knee—just as he used to do when he enjoyed the bounty of the throne in days of old. Then the friendless man awakes again and sees before him the grey waves—sees the sea-birds bathing and spreading their wings, and rime falling, and snow mingled with hail. The grievous wounds, which the loss of his lord has made in his heart, are all the harder to bear, and his sorrow comes back to him when the memory of his kinsmen passes through his mind. He greets them in glad strains and scans them all eagerly. His warrior comrades again melt away, and as they vanish their spirits bring no familiar greetings to his ear. His sorrow comes back to him as on and on he must urge his aching heart over the expanse of waters.

Assuredly I cannot think of any reason in the world why my spirit should not be clouded, when I reflect upon the whole life of noblemen—how halls have suddenly been left destitute of proud warrior squires—just as mankind here droops and perishes day by day.

Assuredly no man can acquire wisdom until he has spent many years in the world. A man of authority must be patient,—not too impetuous, or too hasty of speech, or too slack or reckless in combat, or too timid, or jubilant, or

- ne to forht, ne to fægen, ne to feohgifre,
 ne næfre gielpes to georn ær he geare cunne.
 70 Beorn sceal gebidan, þonne he beot spriceð,
 oþ þæt collenferð cunne gearwe
 hwider hreþra gehygd hweorfan wille.
 Ongietan sceal gleaw hæle hu gæstlic bið
 þonne ealre¹ þisse worulde wela weste stondeð,
 75 swa nu missenlice geond þisne middangeard
 winde biwawne² weallas stondaþ,
 hrime bihrorene. Hryðge þa ederas,
 woriað þa winsalo, waldend licgað.
 dreame bidrorene, duguð eal georong
 80 wlonc bi wealle. Sume wig fornóm,
 ferede on forðwege; sumne fugel oþbær
 ofer heanne holm; sumne se hara wulf
 deaðe gedælde; sumne dreorighleor
 in eorðscræfe eorl gehydde.
 85 Yþðe³ swa þisne eardgeard ælda scyppend,
 oþ þæt burgwara breahmta lease
 eald enta geweorc idlu stodon.
 Se þonne þisne wealsteal wise gepohte,
 and þis deorce⁴ lif deope geondþenceð,
 90 frod in ferðe, feor oft gemon
 wælsleahtha worn, and þas word acwið:
 'Hwær cwom mearg? hwær cwom mago? hwær cwom
 mappumgyfa?
 hwær cwom symbla gesetu? hwær sindon seledreamas?
 Eala beorht bunē! eala byrnwiga!
 95 eala þeodnes þrym! Hu seo þrag gewat,
 genap under nihthelm, swa heo no wære!
 Stondeð nu on laste leofre duguþe
 weal wundrum heah, wrymlicum fah.
 Eorlas fornōmon asca þrype,
 100 wæpen wælgifru, Wyrd seo mære;
 and þas stanhleoðu stormas cnyssað.
 Hrið hreosende hrusan⁵ bindeð,

¹ em. Wülcker, *ealle* MS.² em. Ettmüller, *biwaune* MS.³ em. Thorpe, *yþðe* MS.⁴ em. Thorpe, *deornc* MS.⁵ em. Thorpe (? *hrusan*), *hruse* MS.

covetous, or too ready to boast ere he knows full well the issue. When an impetuous warrior is making a vow, he ought to pause until he knows full well the issue—whither the impulse of his heart will lead. A wise man must perceive how mysterious will be the time when the wealth of all this age will lie waste—just as now in diverse places throughout this earth walls are standing beaten by the wind and covered with rime. The bulwarks are dismantled, the banqueting halls are ruinous; their rulers lie bereft of joy and all their proud chivalry has fallen by the wall. Some have been cut off by battle, borne on their last journey. One was carried by birds over the deep sea; one was given over to death by the grey wolf; one was buried in a hole in the earth by a knight of sad countenance. Thus did the Creator of men lay waste this place of habitation until the clamour of its occupants all ceased, and the buildings raised of old by giants stood empty. He then who in a spirit of meditation has pondered over this ruin, and who with an understanding heart probes the mystery of our life down to its depths, will call to mind many slaughters of long ago and give voice to such words as these:

‘What has become of the steed? What has become of the squire? What has become of the giver of treasure? What has become of the banqueting houses? Where are the joys of the hall? O shining goblet! O mailed warrior! O glory of the prince! How has that time passed away, grown shadowy under the canopy of night as though it had never been! There remains now of the beloved knights no trace save the wall wondrously high, decorated with serpent forms. The nobles have been carried off by the violence of spears, by weapons greedy for slaughter and by mighty Fate, and these ramparts of stone are battered by tempests. Winter’s blast, the driving snow-storm enwraps the earth

- wintres woma, þonne won cymeð,
 nipeð nihtscua, norþan onsendeð
 105 hreo hæglfare hæleþum on andan.
 Eall is earfoðlic eorþan rice,
 onwendeð Wyrda gesceaft weoruld under heofonum.
 Her bið feoh læne, her bið freond læne,
 her bið mon læne, her bið mæg læne :
 110 eal þis eorþan gesteal idel weorþeð !
 Swa cwæð snottor on mode, gesæt him sundor æt rune.
 Til biþ se þe his treowe gehealdeð : / ne sceal næfre his
 torn to rycene
 beorn of his breostum acyþan, nemþe he ær þa bote cunne
 eorl mid elne gefremman ! Wel bið þam þe him are seceð,
 115 frofre to fæder on heofonum, þær us eal seo fæstnung
 stondeð !

when the shades of night come darkly lowering, and sends from the North a cruel hail-storm in wrath against mankind.

‘All the realm of earth is full of tribulation. The life of mankind in the world is shattered by the handiwork of the Fates. Here wealth and friends, liegemen and kinsfolk pass away. Desolation will hold sway throughout the wide world.’

Thus spake the man wise of understanding as he sat communing with himself in solitude. Good is he who keeps his faith. A warrior must never be too precipitate in giving vent to the grief in his heart, unless he has learnt zealously to apply the remedy. Well will it be for him who seeks mercy and comfort from the Father in Heaven, upon whom all our security rests.

II. THE SEAFARER

The *Seafarer* is preserved on fol. 81 f. of the *Exeter Book*. Its origin, date, and authorship are unknown. So diverse, both in subject and tone, are the different parts of the poem that the majority of scholars have come to the conclusion that it cannot have been the work of one author¹. In its original form it is generally believed to have ended at l. 64. What follows (from l. 64 to the end) is thought to have been added at a considerably later time by someone whose religious zeal was greater than his poetic inspiration.

In the part of the poem which is by general consent ascribed to the original author a different kind of problem is presented. There appear at first sight to be inconsistencies between one passage and another, e.g. between l. 33 ff. and the preceding narrative. On this ground it has been held by many that the first part of the *Seafarer* was composed as a dialogue. This theory was first suggested in 1869 by Rieger² who assigned the speeches to an old mariner whose mind is full of the hardships of a seafaring life and a young man anxious to go to sea. To the old man he assigned ll. 1—33; ll. 39—47; ll. 53—57; ll. 72—end. The intervening speeches he assigned to the young man. Kluge, Wülcker, Brandl, Sieper, etc. have accepted Rieger's suggestion that the poem contains a dialogue, but hold that the dialogue ceases at l. 64³ and comprises two speeches only, ll. 1—33 that of an old mariner, ll. 33—64 that of a youth.

¹ Cf. Kluge, *Englische Studien*, 1883, p. 322 ff.; *ib.*, 1885, p. 472 ff.; Wülcker, *Grund. z. Gesch. der angelsächs. Litt.* (Leipzig, 1885), p. 206 ff.; Brandl, *Altenglische Literatur*, Part I (Strassburg, 1906), p. 979 f.; Lawrence, *Journal of Germanic Philology*, Vol. IV, 1902, p. 460 ff.; Sieper, *Die altenglische Elegie* (Strassburg, 1915), p. 183 ff. Exceptions are Rieger, *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, Vol. I, p. 330 ff.; Ten Brink, *Geschichte der englischen Literatur*, Vol. I (Strassburg, 1899), p. 80; Ehrismann, 'Religionsgeschichtliche Beiträge zum germanischen Frühchristentum,' *Beiträge zur Gesch. der deut. Sprache und Lit.* Vol. 35, 1909, p. 213; Schücking, *Kleines angelsächsisches Dichterbuch* (Cöthen, 1919), p. 6 f.

² *Zeitschr. f. d. Philol.* Vol. I, p. 330. Cf. Hönncher, *Anglia*, Vol. IX, p. 435 ff.

³ So most scholars. It is not quite clear to me whether Kluge understands the second speech to end at l. 64 or l. 66.

A yet more complicated analysis, which affects the *Wanderer* also, has been attempted by Boer¹. According to his view the *Wanderer* and the *Seafarer* together contain the remains of three old poems which have been disintegrated and brought together in a new form. This theory has been criticised at length by W. W. Lawrence², who thinks that there is 'no reason to assume that the *Wanderer* and the *Seafarer* are not preserved in essentially their original form with the exception of a homiletic addition to the latter poem' (i.e. ll. 103—124). He rejects the dialogue theory entirely, but admits with some doubt that the Christian elements in the body of the poem may be later additions³.

I think that Lawrence's conclusions are the most reasonable that have yet been put forward on this subject. The infrequency of the dialogue form as a poetical device in Anglo-Saxon poetry should make us hesitate before adopting this hypothesis, unless it is supported by strong evidence. There is no indication whatever in the text of any change of speaker such as we find so clearly indicated in *Salomon and Saturn* and in the Norse dialogue poems⁴; and it is surely significant that the scholars who hold the dialogue theory vary greatly in their views as to the distribution and division of the speeches⁵. The change of view indicated in l. 33 may be merely rhetorical, and its effect on the modern reader is exaggerated by the absence of such adversative particles as serve in modern languages, as in ancient Greek, to knit conflicting ideas in a logical sequence.

Attempts have been made⁶ indeed to prove the adversative use of *for þon* which is one of the chief difficulties of the poem; but the only explanation, I think, which covers

¹ *Zeitschr. f. deut. Philol.* Vol. xxxv, p. 1 ff.

² *Journ. of Germ. Philol.* Vol. iv, 1902, p. 460 ff.

³ The dialogue theory is also rejected by Kock in *Lunds Universitets Årsskrift*, 1918 ('Jubilee Jaunts and Jottings,' p. 75).

⁴ Lawrence (*op. cit.*, p. 468) points out that a change of speaker is clearly indicated in the *Wanderer*, l. 88 f.

⁵ Cf. Rieger, *Zeitschr. f. d. Philol.* Vol. i, p. 330 ff.; Hönninger, *Anglia*, Vol. ix, p. 435 ff.; Kluge, *Engl. Stud.* Vol. vi (1883), p. 322 ff.; Boer, *Zeitschr. f. d. Philol.* Vol. xxxv, p. 14 ff., etc.

⁶ Cf. Rieger, *op. cit.*, p. 335, note to l. 27; M. Daunt, *Modern Language Review*, Vol. xiii (1918), p. 474 f.; Kock, *loc. cit.*

satisfactorily its use in all cases is to take it as a colourless adverbial phrase, connecting loosely what goes before with what follows, and to translate it by some such expression as 'I assure thee' or 'assuredly'¹. Lawrence takes a similar view, though he translates 'in this respect,' which is not very suitable for l. 33.

It is not however very difficult to trace the sequence of thought in the poem in its present form as far as l. 102. In ll. 1—33 a seafarer describes the hardships which he has endured at sea, yet (ll. 33—64) declares that in spite of such hardships he is always longing to set forth again on his voyages. At l. 64 there is certainly a rather awkward transition. He appears to argue that in view of the transitoriness of human life the best thing that a man can do is to win the good opinion of posterity and the joy of Heaven. He concludes by deploring the departure of the glory of the past and the inevitableness of death.

At l. 102 there is a marked change in the character of the poem. Thorpe suggested² that what follows is the work of a different author—a view which has been adopted by several recent writers. The passage is verbose and lacking in coherence, and the sentiments expressed have no obvious connection with the rest of the poem³. Ll. 106—109 contain gnomic utterances which are identical with certain passages

¹ W. W. Lawrence has pointed out (*Journ. of Germ. Philol.* Vol. iv, 1902, p. 463 f.) that in the Lindisfarne and Rushworth glosses on the Gospels for *þon* is not infrequently used where the corresponding ms. passage has *soþlice* or a like word. The earlier meaning of the phrase was probably 'so far as this is concerned,' which may from the context acquire the meaning 'in spite of that.' Kock, *Lunds Universitets Årsskrift*, 1918 ('Jubilee Jaunts and Jottings,' p. 75), points out that the Norse *fyrir því* sometimes has this latter force. See Fritzner, *Ordbog over det gamle norske Sprog*, Vol. i, s.v. *fyrir* § 22 (e.g. *Flateyjarbók*, Vol. ii, p. 187, 'Sofa munu vér fullan svefn fyrir því'); but adversative ideas may be introduced in Anglo-Saxon poetry without any adversative phrases. We may refer e.g. to *Beowulf*, l. 478.

² *Codex Exoniensis* (London, 1842), p. 312, note 1. On the question as to the authorship of this latter part, cf. Wülcker, *Grundriss*, etc. p. 210 f.; Brandl, *Gesch. d. altengl. Lit.* p. 979 f.; Sieper, *Die altengl. Elegie*, p. 191.

³ This last remark may be held also to apply to the concluding lines of the *Wanderer*. In view of the fact that l. 102 of the *Seafarer* begins a new folio it has been suggested that part of a set of gnomic verses has been attached to the poem by a binder's error. Cf. Thorpe, *loc. cit.*; Lawrence, *op. cit.* p. 471; B. C. Williams, *Gnomic Poetry in Anglo-Saxon* (New York, 1914), p. 47 ff.

in the *Exeter Gnomes*, and many analogies to the phraseology of the entire passage are to be found in religious poems and sermons. It is not unlikely that ll. 64—102 may have been recast at some time, perhaps when the end of the poem (from l. 103) was added. This hypothesis will at all events help to account for certain awkward constructions, especially in l. 74 ff., as well as for the rather unnatural transitions of thought which occur both here and in l. 64 ff. Such recasting may have been not unusual when secular poems made their way into religious houses. It would be possible to trace a similar process, though on a smaller scale, in the *Wanderer* and elsewhere. But I doubt if it is possible now to separate the later elements or to reconstruct the body of the original poem¹.

¹ For the most recent analysis and discussion of the structure of the *Seafarer*, see R. Imelmann, *Forschungen zur altenglischen Poesie* (Berlin, 1920), pp. 42 ff., 141 f.

THE SEAFARER

- Mæg ic be me sylfum soðgied wrecan,
 siþas secgan, hu ic geswincdagum
 earfoðhwile oft þrowade,
 bitre bréostceare gebiden hæbbe,
 5 gecunnad in ceole cearselda fela,
 atol yþa gewealc, þær mec oft bigeat
 nearo nihtwaco æt nacan stefnan,
 þonne he be clifum cnossað. Calde geþrunge
 wæron mine fet, forste gebunden
 10 caldum clommum, þær þa ceare seofedun
 hat ymb heortan, hungor innan slat
 merewerges mod. þæt se mon ne wat,
 þe him on foldan fægrost limpeð,
 hu ic earmcearig iscealdne sæ
 15 winter wunade wræccan lastum,
 winemægum bidroren,
 bihongen hrimgicelum: hægl scurum fleag.
 X þær ic ne gehyrde butan hlimman sæ,
 iscaldne wæg. Hwilum ylfete song
 20 dyde ic me to gomene, ganetes hleopor
 and huilpan sweg fore hleahtor wera,
 mæw singende fore medodrince.
 Stormas þær stanclifu beotan, þær him stearn oncwæð
 isigfeþera: ful oft þæt earn bigeal
 X 25 urigfeþra X Nænig hleomæga
 feasceaftig ferð frefran¹ meahte.
 X For þon him gelyfeð lyt, se þe ah lifes wyn
 gebiden in burgum, bealosipa hwon,
 wlone and wingal, hu ic werig oft
 30 in brimlade bidan sceolde!
 Nap nihtscua, norþan sniwde,
 hrim hrusan band, hægl feol on eorþan,

¹ em. Grein², feran MS.

THE SEAFARER

I will recite a lay about my own history and recount my adventures—how in days of stress I have constantly suffered times of hardship. I have endured bitter anguish of heart and experienced many anxious moments in my bark through the terrible rolling of the waves. A distressing vigil has often been my lot at the stern of the ship, when it was dashing against the rocks. My feet have been numbed with cold, bound with chill fetters of frost, while my heart was beset with passionate sighs of distress and my spirit within me was torn by hunger—exhausted as I was by my struggle with the waves. A man whose blissful lot is cast on land cannot realise how I have passed the winter in paths of exile on the icy sea, miserable and distraught, deprived of my dear kinsmen and hung about with icicles, while the hail flew in showers. There I heard nothing but the roaring of the sea, the icy waves. Sometimes I had the song of the swan for my entertainment, the cry of the gannet and the shriek of the godwit for the laughter of men, the calling of the mew instead of mead-drinking. Storms buffeted the rocky cliffs, and the tern with icy plumage gave them answer, and again and again the eagle with dripping feathers took up the cry. I had no protecting kinsman who could comfort my desolate soul. Assuredly one who has spent a happy life in luxury and feasting in a great house, free from perilous adventures, can hardly believe what exhaustion I have repeatedly suffered on my sea-voyages. The shades of night came lowering, snow fell from the North, frost bound the land, and hail, coldest of grains, fell on the earth.

- corna caldast. For þon cnyssað nu
 heortan gepohtas þæt ic hean streamas,
 35 sealtyþa gelac sylf cunnige.
 Monað modes lust mæla gehwylce
 ferð to feras, þæt ic feor heonan
 elpeodigra eard gesece.
 For þon nis þæs modwlone mon ofer eorþan,
 40 ne his gifena þæs god, ne in geogupe to þæs hwæt,
 ne in his dædum to þæs deor, ne him his dryhten to
 þæs hold,
 þæt he a his sæfore sorge næbbe,
 to hwon hine dryhten gedon wille.
 Ne biþ him to hearpan hyge, ne to hringþege,
 45 ne to wife wyn, ne to worulde hyht,
 ne ymbe owiht elles nefne ymb yða gewearc,
 ac a hafað longunge se þe on lagu fundað.
 Bearwas blostmum nimað, byrig fægriað,
 wongas wlitigað, woruld onetteð:
 50 ealle þa gemoniað modes fusne,
 sefan to siðe þam þe swa þenceð.
 On flodwegas feor gewitaþ.
 Swylce geac monað geomran reorde,
 singeð sumeres weard, sorge beodeð
 55 bitter in breosthord. þæt se beorn ne wat,
 esteadig secg, hwæt þa sume dreogað,
 þe þa wræclastas widost lecgæð.
 For þon nu min hyge hweorfeð ofer hreþerlocan,
 min modsefa mid mereflode
 60 ofer hwæles eþel, hweorfeð wide
 eorþan sceatas, cymeð eft to me
 gifre and grædig, gielleð anfloga,
 hweteð on hwælweg¹ hreþer unwearnum
 ofer holma gelagu. For þon me hatran sind
 65 dryhtnes dreamas þonne þis deade lif,
 læne on londe; ic gelyfe no
 þæt him eorðwelan ece stondað².
 Simle þreora sum þinga gehwylce

¹ em. Thorpe (? hwæl-), wælweg MS.

² em. Ettmüller, stondeð MS.

But assuredly even now my thoughts are making my heart to throb, until of my own accord I shall venture on the deep waters, the tossing of the salt waves. At every opportunity a yearning impulse incites my heart to set forth and seek the land of strangers far away. Assuredly there is no man on earth so high-hearted, or so generous, or so full of youthful vigour, or so bold in his deeds, or so high in his lord's favour, that he can ever be free from anxiety as to what is the Lord's purpose with regard to him, when he has to travel across the sea.

His thoughts are not on the harp or the giving of rings, he has no pleasure in womankind, nor joy in life, nor thought of anything whatever save the tossing waves: for there is never any peace of mind for him who goes to sea. The houses of the great are beautified by blossoming groves, the fields begin to look bright, mankind begins to stir itself; all these things urge the heart of a high-spirited man towards travel, if he has any inclination thereto.—They set out on long journeys over the paths of the sea.—The cuckoo too, summer's herald, incites him, calling with plaintive note, and cruelly fortells troubles to his heart. A nobleman who lives in luxury cannot realise what is endured by many of those who travel far and wide on paths of exile.

Assuredly my thoughts are now soaring beyond my breast; along the course of the sea my spirit soars, over the home of the whale and throughout the great expanse of earth. Again it comes back to me, eager and hungry, screaming on its solitary flight. Resistlessly it impels my heart to the road of the whale, over the expanse of waters.//Assuredly I feel more passion for the joys of the Lord than for this lifeless and transient existence on land. I do not believe that earth's blessings will endure for ever. Always and under all cir-

- ær his tiddege¹ to tweon weorþeð—
 70 adl opþe ylðo opþe ecghete
 fægum fromweardum feorh oðþringeð.
 For þon þæt eorla gehwam æftercweþendra,
 lof lifgendra, lastworda betst—
 þæt he gewyrce, ær he on weg scyle,
 75 fremman on foldan wið feonda niþ
 deorum dædum deofle togeanes,
 þæt hine ælða bearn æfter hergen,
 and his lof siþþan lifge mid englum
 awa to ealdre, ecan lifes blæd²,
 80 dream mid dugeþum! Dagas sind gewitene,
 ealle onmedlan eorþan rices;
 ne aron³ nu cyningas ne caseras
 ne goldgiefan swylce iu wæron,
 þonne hi mæst mid him mærpā gefremedon
 85 and on dryhtlicestum dome lifdon.
 Gedroren is þeos duguð eal, dreamas sind gewitene;
 wuniað þa wacran and þas woruld healdap,
 brucað þurh bisgo. Blæd is gehnæged,
 eorþan indryhto ealdað and searað,
 90 swa nu monna gehwyle geond middangeard.
 Ylðo him on færeð, onsyn blacað,
 gomelfeax gnornað, wat his iuwine,
 æþelinga bearn, eorþan forgiefene.
 Ne mæg him þonne se flæschoma, þonne him þæt feorg
 losað,
 95 ne swete forswelgan, ne sar gefelan,
 ne hond onhreran, ne mid hyge þencan.
 þeah he græf wille golde stregan
 broþor his geborenum, byrgan be deadum
 maþmum mislicum þæt hine mid wille,
 100 ne mæg þære sawle, þe biþ synna ful,
 gold to geoce for godes egsan,
 þonne he hit ær hydeð þenden he her leofað.
 Micel biþ se meotudes egsa, for þon hi seo molde on-
 cyrreð;

¹ em. Grein, *tidege* MS.² em. Thorpe, *blæð* MS.³ em. Grein, *næron* MS.

cumstances it is matter for uncertainty until the time of its occurrence which of these three—sickness or old age or violence—will cut off the life of a man when the fated hour of his departure comes upon him.

Assuredly the best of records for every man is the praise of those who will live on and speak of him in after days—that before he has to depart he should succeed in prevailing on earth against the hostility of fiends, encountering the devil with daring deeds, so that the children of men may praise him in after days, and his fame may endure henceforth with the angels for ever and ever—the glory of eternal life, bliss among the righteous.

All the days of splendour of earth's realm are departed. There are now no kings or emperors or generous princes such as once there were, when they surpassed all their peers in glory, and lived in the most lordly splendour. All this chivalry has perished. Its joys are departed. A weaker race lingers on and possesses this world, living by toil. Glory lies in the dust. All that is noble on earth grows aged and fades away—just as every man now does throughout the world. Old age comes upon him, his face grows pallid; grey-haired he grieves in the knowledge that his friends of old days, the scions of princes, have been committed to the earth. While his spirit is ebbing his bodily frame cannot relish delicacies, nor suffer pain, nor raise the hand, nor think with the brain. Though he will spread with gold the grave of his own brother, and bury with the dead in treasures of various kinds what he wishes to have with him, yet gold, which he has hidden while he is still alive here, will not be able to help a soul which is sinful, in place of the fear of God.

Great is the terror of God, for the earth will be transformed.

- se gestapelade stiþe grundas,
 105 eorþan sceatas and uproðor.
 Ðol biþ se þe him his dryhten ne ondrædeþ: cymeð him
 se deað unþinged.
 Eadig bið se þe eaþmod leofað: cymeð him seo ar of
 heofonum.
 Meotod him þæt mod gestapelað, for þon he in his
 meahthe gelyfeð.
 Stieran mon¹ sceal strongum mode, and þæt on stape-
 lum healdan—
 110 and gewis werum, wisum clæne.
 Scyle monna gehwylc mid gemete healdan
 wiþ leofne *lufan*² and wið laþne bealo,
 þeah þe he hine wille fyres fulne,
 oþþe on bæle forbærnedne
 115 his geworhtne wine. Wyrð biþ swiðre³,
 meotud meahtigra, þonne ænges monnes gehygd.
 Uton we hycgan hwær we⁴ ham agen,
 and þonne geþencan hu we þider cumen;
 and we þonne eac tilien þæt we to moten
 120 in þa ecan eadignesse,
 þær is lif gelong in lufan dryhtnes,
 hyht in heofonum! þæs sy þam halgan þonc,
 þæt he usic geweorþade, wuldres ealdor,
 ece dryhten, in ealle tid! Amen.

¹ em. Thorpe, *mod* MS.³ em. Grein, *swire* MS.² em. Klaeber, *om.* MS.⁴ em. Thorpe, *se* MS.

He fixed the immovable depths, the surface of the earth and the Heavens above.

Foolish is he who fears not his Lord : death will come to him when he is unprepared. Blessed is he who lives in humility : mercy will come to him from Heaven. God will stablish his heart for him, because he has faith in his might.

A man must control a fierce temper and keep it within bounds.

He must be true to his pledges, unblemished in his life.

Every man should use moderation in cherishing love towards his friend and hatred towards his foe.....

.....Fate is stronger, and God mightier than any man can imagine. Let us consider where our home lies and meditate further as to how we may reach it ; and let us also further strive that we may attain to eternal bliss, where life is to be found in the love of the Lord, and joy in Heaven. Thanks be to the holy Prince of glory, the everlasting Lord, that he has shown us favour for all time ! Amen.

III. THE WIFE'S COMPLAINT

This poem also is preserved only in the *Exeter Book* (fol. 115 *a, b*). It is in the form of a dramatic monologue. The speaker has been separated from a dear lord and ordered to live in a cavern or grotto under an oak tree, and is consequently in great distress. The misery of this solitary abode, together with uncertainty as to what has become of the lord, combine to produce a mood alternating between passionate longing and despair.

Early editors¹ assumed that the monologue was that of a man. Ettmüller² was the first to realise the significance of the feminine forms in the first two lines. He saw that the speaker must be a woman and therefore entitled the poem *Wreccan Wifes Ged* ('The Lay of a Banished Wife'). His view has since met with general acceptance³, and the poem has become known as 'The Wife's Complaint.'

There has been much controversy as to whether the poem is complete in itself or whether it forms part of a longer story. Ten Brink⁴, Wülcker⁵, Roeder⁶ and Sieper⁷ hold the former view and see no reason to connect it with any other poem or story. On the other hand Grein⁸,

¹ Cf. Conybeare, *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (London, 1826), p. 245 ff.; Thorpe, *Codex Exoniensis* (London, 1842), p. 441 ff. Thorpe suggested that *minre sylfre sið* (l. 2) should be emended to *minne sylfes sið*.

² *Engla and Seaxna Scopas and Boceras* (Quedlinburg, 1850), p. 214 ff.

³ The only noteworthy exceptions are S. Turner, *History of the Anglo-Saxons* (London, 1852), Vol. III, p. 290; Taine, *Histoire de la Littérature anglaise* (Paris, 1892), Vol. I, p. 30 f.; and Schücking (*Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, Vol. XLVIII, 1906, p. 446 ff.). The latter, however, appears to have recently changed his view; cf. *Kleines angelsächs. Dichterbuch* (Cöthen, 1919), p. 18 f.

⁴ *Gesch. der engl. Litt.*² Vol. I (Strassburg, 1899), p. 74 (transl. H. M. Kennedy, 1883).

⁵ *Grundriss zur Geschichte der angelsächsischen Litteratur* (Leipzig, 1885), p. 226.

⁶ *Die Familie bei den Angelsachsen* (Halle, 1899), p. 125, note 1.

⁷ *Die altenglische Elegie* (Strassburg, 1915), p. 224.

⁸ Grein's first opinion (cf. *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie*, Göttingen, 1857, Vol. I, p. 363) was that the *Wife's Complaint* was connected with the Genovefa story; but he appears to have abandoned this view later (cf. *Kurzgefasste angelsächsische Grammatik*, Kassel, 1880, p. 10) in favour of that of a connection between this poem and the *Husband's Message*, both of

Hicketier¹, Trautmann², Imelmann³ and Brandl⁴ believe that there is a connection between the *Wife's Complaint* and the *Husband's Message*, though they are not in entire agreement as to the details. A third group are of the opinion that the subject of the *Wife's Complaint* is an incident of some cycle of legend such as the Hildebrand story⁵, the Genovefa cycle⁶, the Constantia-Offa cycle⁷, or the Crescentia story⁸.

It may be observed here that this third view is open to some rather serious objections. It is not clear that any of the cycles of legend mentioned above were known in England during the Saxon period⁹ except perhaps in the form of folk-tales. Again, the absence of proper names causes a difficulty; for they are very freely used in the heroic poems which have come down to us¹⁰. In the whole of *Beowulf* there is only one passage as long as this poem which is without any proper name. This passage (l. 2208 ff.) is indeed much longer; but

which he regards as having formed part of a larger poem, belonging to the eighth century.

¹ *Anglia*, Vol. xi (1889), pp. 363—368. Hicketier suggests that both the *Wife's Complaint* and the *Husband's Message* may be Riddles, not, however, independent of one another.

² *Anglia*, Vol. xvi (1894), p. 222 ff. Trautmann believes that the *Wife's Complaint* and the *Husband's Message* are works of the same author, and indeed that originally they formed parts of the same poem.

³ *Die altenglische Odoaker-Dichtung* (Berlin, 1907). Imelmann regards the first Riddle of the *Exeter Book*, the *Wife's Complaint* and the *Husband's Message* as a trilogy, and attempts to connect them with the Odoacer story. He reads the Runic letters in the *Husband's Message*, ll. 35, 36, as forming the name *Eadwacer*, which is found in the Riddle. Cf. also *Forschungen zur altenglischen Poesie* (Berlin, 1920), p. 174.

⁴ *Geschichte der altenglischen Literatur* (Strassburg, 1908), p. 977.

⁵ Conybeare, *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (London, 1826), p. 245, n. 1.

⁶ Grein, *Bibl. d. angelsächs. Poes.* Vol. i, p. 363.

⁷ Cf. Wülcker, *Grundr. zur Gesch. der angelsächs. Litt.* p. 226; this is however merely a counter-suggestion to the Genovefa cycle, and does not represent Wülcker's opinion. It is offered as a serious solution to the problem however by Edith Rickert (*Modern Philology*, Vol. ii, 1905, p. 365 ff.) and by W. W. Lawrence (*ib.* Vol. v, 1908, p. 387 ff.).

⁸ Stefanovič, *Anglia*, Vol. xxxii, 1909, p. 399 ff. Stefanovič's suggestion has been adopted by Schücking; cf. *Kleines angelsächsisches Dichterbuch* (Cöthen, 1919), p. 18 f.

⁹ The story of Offa was of course well known, but it would seem from *Beowulf* that the original story of Offa's marriage was that which was attached to Offa II in the 'Lives,' and not the (Constantia) story which was associated with Offa I.

¹⁰ Cf. also the so-called 'First Riddle' which is a shorter poem, and which, except for the occurrence of the proper names, is in many respects comparable to the *Wife's Complaint*.

it must be regarded as altogether exceptional. On the other hand it is clear from the other poems contained in this book that the nameless, timeless type of poetry was popular. No one will suggest that the *Wanderer* or the *Seafarer* is to be connected with any cycles of legend.

In the poem itself there are several points which are not quite clear. Why has the speaker been ordered to live under an oak, and what is the nature of her abode there? According to Wülcker¹ she has been sent there as a punishment; but Trautmann² and others hold that it is a place of sanctuary. The situation would no doubt be clear enough to an audience familiar with the traditions of early—presumably heathen—times; and in the notes some evidence which tends to support the latter view is quoted from certain passages in early Norse literature.

Again, there is a curious difference of opinion as to the number of principal characters in the story. Several scholars hold that the man whose character is sketched in l. 18 ff. is a different person from the speaker's 'lord' or husband, and that it is through the former—perhaps one of the *magas*³ mentioned in l. 11 and the villain of the piece—that her distressing situation has been brought about. It is chiefly through this hypothesis that attempts have been made to bring the poem into connection with various cycles of story.

The hypothesis however involves some serious difficulties. In l. 42 ff. there is clearly a reference to the same man who is mentioned in l. 18 ff. If this is not the speaker's 'lord' we must postulate in both cases an abrupt and unnatural transition; for there can be no doubt that the lord is the person indicated in both of the passages immediately following these (ll. 47 ff. and 21 ff.). Again, according to this hypothesis, the commands mentioned in ll. 15 and 27 must be different and due to different persons; while ll. 24 ff. lose the antithetical force which seems to be implied both by the individual words

¹ *Grundr. zur Gesch. der angelsächs. Litt.* p. 226.

² *Anglia*, Vol. xvi (1894), p. 223.

³ Cf. Grein, *Dichtungen der Angelsachsen* (Cassel, 1863), Vol. II, p. 256, footnote; Roeder, *Die Familie bei den Angelsachsen*, p. 114; Brandl, *Gesch. d. altengl. Lit.* (Strassburg, 1908), p. 977.

(*freondscipe, fela leofan, fæhðu*) and by the passage as a whole.

On the other hand all these passages may be taken as referring to the 'lord'; and this explanation is favoured by the fact that an estrangement on his part is clearly indicated in l. 23 ff. In this case there will be no need to assume the existence of a third character.

It is perhaps an ambitious attempt to portray excited feelings which causes the difficulty of the poem. The asyndetic and not altogether logical sequence of thought, the absence of metrical form in l. 24, and the involved construction in l. 42 ff. may possibly all be ascribed to this cause. There is no need, I think, to assume any serious corruption of the text.

THE WIFE'S COMPLAINT

- Ic þis giedd wrece bi me ful geomorre,
 minre sylfre sið; ic þæt secgan mæg
 hwæt ic yrmþa gebad siþþan ic up weox
 niwes oþþe ealdes, no ma þonne nu :
 5 a ic wite wonn minra wræcsiþa !
 Ærest min hlaford gewat heonan of leodum
 ofer yþa gelac. Hæfde ic uhtceare
 hwær min leodfruma londes wære.
 Ða ic me feran gewat folgað secan,
 10 wineleas wræcca, for minre weaþearfe.
 Ongunnon þæt þæs monnes magas hycgan
 þurh dyrne geþoht þæt hy todælden unc,
 þæt wit gewidost in woruldrice
 lifdon læðlicost, and mec longade.
 15 Het mec hlaford min her heard niman.
 Ahte ic leofra lyt on þissum londstede,
 holdra freonda; for þon is min hyge geomor,
 Ða ic me ful gemæcne monnan funde,
 heardsæligne, hygegeomorne,
 20 mod miþendne, morþor hycgende
 bliþe gebæro. X Ful oft wit beotedan
 þæt unc ne gedælde nemne deað ana
 owiht elles. Eft is þæt onhworfen;
 is nu swa hit no wære
 25 freondscipe uncer ! X Sceal¹ ic feor ge neah
 mines fela leofan fæhðu dreogan.
 Heht mec mon wunian on wuda bearwe,
 under actreo in þam eorðscræfe.
 Eald is þes eorðsele, eal ic eom oflongad;
 30 sindon dena dimme, duna uphea,
 bitre burgtunas, brerum beweaxne,
 wic wynta leas. Ful oft mec her wraþe begeat

¹ em. Thorpe, Seal ms.

THE WIFE'S COMPLAINT

In this poem I will give an account of my overwhelming troubles and describe the plight in which I find myself. I will tell what hardships I have endured since I grew up, both recently and long ago, but never more than now. I have suffered ceaseless torment from my misfortunes.

To begin with, my lord went away from his people here over the restless waves. In the morning twilight I have wondered anxiously in what part of the world my lord could be. Then I set out on my way, friendless and homeless, to seek for support in my sore need.

The man's relatives had secretly cast about as to how they might separate us, so that we might live as far apart in the world as possible and on the worst of terms; and I was sick at heart. My lord in his cruelty ordered me to be brought here. In this place I had no dear or loyal friends. Truly my heart is troubled since I have found a man fully suited to me, oppressed by ill fortune and troubled in heart—disguising his feelings under an unruffled demeanour while intending a deed of cruelty. Again and again we had vowed that nothing but death alone should part us. Now all that is passed away, and our love is as though it had never been. Everywhere I shall have to suffer the hostility of him who is very dear to me.

I have been ordered to make my dwelling in a forest grove in this cavern beneath an oak-tree. This is an underground dwelling made long ago, and I am altogether heart-broken. Gloomy are its depths, and the heights tower up above. Cruel are the barriers of my citadel, overgrown with thorns. It is a joyless dwelling. Many are the times that the thought

- fromsiþ frean. Frynd sind on eorþan
 leofe lifgende, leger weardiað,
 35 þonne ic on uhtan ana gonge
 under actreo geond þas eorðscrafu!
 þær ic sittan¹ mot sumorlangne dæg,
 þær ic wepan mæg mine wræcsiþas,
 earfoþa fela. For þon ic æfre ne mæg
 40 þære modceare minre gerestan,
 ne ealles þæs longapes þe mec on þissum life begeat.
 A scyle geong mon wesan geomormod,
 heard heortan gepoht, swylce habban sceal
 bliþe gebæro, eac þon breostceare,
 45 sinsorgna gedreag— sy æt him sylfum gelong
 eal his worulde wyn, | sy ful wide fah
 feorres folclondes þæt min freond siteð
 under stanhlife, storme behrimed,
 wine werigmod, wætre beflown
 50 on dreorsele. Dreogeð se min wine
 micle modceare; he gemon to oft
 wynlicran wic.] Wa bið þam þe sceal
 of langope leofes abidan!

¹ em. Conybeare, *sittam* ms.

of my lord's departure has taken cruel hold of me while I have been here. Lovers there are on earth living in affection and resting in their beds, while all alone before the dawn I pace the round of these caverns beneath the oak-tree. Here I shall have to sit through the long summer day; here I shall have to weep over my misfortunes and my many hardships. Assuredly I shall never be able to get any rest from my distress nor from all the heart-ache which has come upon me in my life here.

The young man can never cease to be troubled in spirit. Bitter must be the reflections of his heart; but he must also have an unruffled demeanour, though along with it grief of soul and a host of constant anxieties—whether all the joy that the world can give him be to his hand, or whether it be that, hunted by hostility throughout the length and breadth of a far country, my lover is sitting beneath some rampart of rock exposed to tempest and frost—my dear one broken-hearted, in a gloomy dwelling with water flowing round him. Great misery of heart is that dear one of mine suffering; very often he remembers a happier abode. Sad is the lot of those who have to wait with an aching heart for them whom they love.

IV. THE HUSBAND'S MESSAGE

The Husband's Message is preserved on fol. 123 *a-b* of the *Exeter Book*. It is preceded by one or more riddles, and the opinions of scholars have varied greatly as to the exact point at which *The Husband's Message* actually begins. It would seem at first sight that the scribe of the *Exeter Book* himself recognised four distinct pieces between the end of the piece which Thorpe called *Maxims* (fol. 122 *b*) and the beginning of the *Ruin* (fol. 123 *b*). Each of these pieces begins with a large initial letter¹ and ends with the mark indicating the conclusion. These four pieces will be referred to in the following passages as units A, B, C, and D respectively, for the sake of convenience.

Thorpe², in his edition of the *Exeter Book*, followed the ms. and printed each piece as a separate unit. He regarded the first three as Riddles, the fourth (beginning with the words *Hwæt þec þonne*, etc.) he called *A Fragment*.

That the first piece (A) is a riddle there has never been any serious doubt. It occurs also on fol. 108 of the *Exeter Book* among a collection of Riddles, and is generally printed by editors as 'Riddle 31.'

Grein³ was the first to suggest that the third and fourth pieces (C, D) really formed one unit (CD) which he called *Botschaft des Gemahls an seine Frau* ('The Husband's Message to his Wife')—a suggestion which has since met with general approval.

In 1887 Strobl put forward the view⁴ that the second

¹ Large initials seldom occur elsewhere in the ms. except at the beginning of a poem. It is to be observed, however, that another instance occurs in D l. 14 (*Ongin*)—here also preceded by the 'conclusion' mark—where the scribe can hardly have thought of the beginning of a new piece.

² *Codex Exoniensis* (London, 1842), p. 470 ff. Cf. also Klipstein, *Analecta Anglo-Saxonica* (New York, 1849), Vol. II, p. 322 f.; Ettmüller, *Engla and Seaxna Scopas and Boceras* (Quedlinburg, etc. 1850), p. 202 f.

³ *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie* (Göttingen, 1857), Vol. I, pp. 246 f., 363 f.

⁴ *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alterthum*, Vol. XXXI, p. 55.

piece (B), though evidently of the nature of a riddle, was not unconnected with the following piece (i.e. CD, now recognised as one)—which indeed seemed to him to contain the answer to it. This view was opposed in 1889 by Hicketier¹, who held that Strobl had misinterpreted B, and suggested on the contrary that the unit CD might itself be a riddle.

In 1900 the question of the relationship of B to the unit CD was reopened by Blackburn², who argued that B (now generally known as 'Riddle 61') was not a riddle at all, but a part of the unit CD which had been detached from the rest of the poem by the scribe. Blackburn bases his theory mainly on four points, viz.: (1) B does not present a distinct riddle form. The descriptive element is present, but we do not find the contradictory statements so essential to this type of riddle; (2) the solutions to this 'riddle' hitherto suggested³ are unsatisfactory. The object speaking is plainly a letter; (3) what follows in the MS. is also the utterance of a letter; (4) if the three poems (i.e. B, C, D) are read consecutively the result is clearly a unity.

Blackburn's theory has not been allowed to pass unchallenged. Tupper admits that his suggestion is 'pretty and ingenious,' but holds that it ignores a very real relation between Riddle 61 (*Exeter Book*) and Riddle 2 (the 'Reed') of Symphosius⁴. He makes no comment on Blackburn's

¹ *Anglia*, Vol. XI (1889), p. 363f.

² *Journal of Germanic Philology*, Vol. III (1900), p. 1 ff.

³ Dietrich (*Zeitschr. f. deut. Alterthum*, Vol. XI, p. 452 f.) suggested 'A reed'; Trautmann (*Anglia*, Vol. XVI, p. 219) 'A Rune-staff.' Trautmann urged that the fact that the solution to Riddle 61 was a 'rune-staff' was sufficient reason for a scribe placing immediately after it a poem in which the speaker is also a rune-staff.

⁴ Cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, Vol. XVIII (1903), pp. 98, 99; *The Riddles of the Exeter Book* (Boston, 1910), pp. 198, 199. The close correspondence between these two 'Riddles' had been previously indicated in parallel columns by Dietrich (*loc. cit.*). He gives the text of Riddle no. 2 of Symphosius as follows:

Dulcis amica dei,
semper* vicina profundist,
suave canens musis,
nigro perfusa colore;
nuntia sum linguae,
digitis signata† magistri.

* *ripae*, Tupper. † *profundae*, id. ‡ *stipata*, id.

first argument, but states that Symphosius' 'Reed' problem is a popular one in the folk-literature of several languages.

Sieper is also of the opinion¹ that Blackburn's arguments will not admit of a critical examination. He points out that the contradictory or antithetical form is not essential to the riddle, and that Blackburn's second argument has no bearing on the point at issue. He adheres to the old view that B is a riddle, and on grounds of technique etc. regards the unit CD as a *Klage*, complete in itself. In his opinion, moreover, the speaker is a messenger, only the runes being graven on the *beam*; and it is to be noted that in regard to the last point his view is shared also by Imelmann² and Schücking³.

The position appears to me to be this. The evidence which Tupper adduces for the popularity of the Arundo Riddle is for the most part late, and therefore has little bearing on our problem; but it is not to be denied that the phrasing of the riddle shows a curious resemblance to the A.S. unit B. Again, the description at the beginning of the latter seems more appropriate to a reed than to any kind of tree which could serve for a message stick; and the same may perhaps be said of l. 9, though this point can hardly be pressed, as the verse is metrically defective. Even if Blackburn's view is correct, is it really quite impossible that the poet should have been influenced by the riddle of Symphosius or an A.S. riddle based upon it? The closing lines of B certainly connect very well with the beginning of C, and moreover it has been pointed out⁴ that the personal address in l. 14 of B is contrary to the usage of A.S. riddles. But if we regard B as a unit, does it therefore follow that it is a riddle? Inanimate objects are represented not infrequently in Anglo-Saxon as speaking in their own person (e.g. the cross in the *Dream of the Rood*, the Alfred Jewel, and the sundial at Kirkdale Church), a convention which may have some connection with riddle literature.

¹ *Die altenglische Elegie* (Strassburg, 1915), p. 211.

² *Forschungen zur altenglischen Poesie* (Berlin, 1920), p. 152.

³ *Kleines angelsächsisches Dichterbuch* (Cöthen, 1919), p. 23.

⁴ Cf. Wyatt, *Old English Riddles* (London, 1912), p. 109.

Several scholars¹ have called attention to the similarity of unit D to a riddle, and if we assume that the slip of wood is the speaker², the analogy is undeniable; but the whole poem reads quite naturally as the speech of a messenger who is delivering to his lady his credentials or some other token, graven in runes on a slip of wood.

On the whole the evidence does not seem to me to be sufficiently decisive to admit of a positive answer to the questions that have been raised. The view put forward by Blackburn is not in itself improbable. On the other hand it appears to me at least equally probable that the compiler of the *Exeter Book*, or the collector whose text he was copying, may have been prompted to group these poems together by the similarity of their theme; and this suggestion is somewhat favoured by the fact of the reintroduction at this point of unit A³, which has been interpreted by Blackburn and others as a *beam* ('tree,' 'cross,' etc.).

The question as to whether this poem is connected with the *Wife's Complaint* has been much debated. There is no indication that the scribe of the *Exeter Book* recognised any connection between the two poems. They are separated by seven folios. But it has been urged by many scholars that the two poems seem to point to very similar situations⁴. In both cases the man has left his wife or sweetheart suddenly and fled across the sea. In both cases there is a reference to some trouble which has caused his precipitate flight. In the *Wife's Complaint* this cause is not made clear. In the *Husband's Message*, however, it is explained as a vendetta. In both cases again we have references to vows of loyalty exchanged between the man and woman and to the longing which the speaker in each poem confesses.

¹ E.g. Brandl, *Geschichte der altenglischen Literatur* (Strassburg, 1908), p. 977.

² Cf. the poem (printed as prose) contained in King Alfred's translation of Gregory's *Cura Pastoralis* (ed. Sweet, E.E.T.S., p. 8).

³ Blackburn, in order to explain the fact that unit A occurs twice in the *Exeter Book*, suggests that the scribe may have had two ms. collections of poems before him, each of which contained the riddle. There are considerable variations in the texts of the two versions.

⁴ Cf. Introduction to the *Wife's Complaint*, p. 28 f., above.

Possibly also the wooded hillside of the *Message* may be a reminiscence of the grove and hills of the *Complaint*.

On the other hand an equally strong body of opinion contends that these similarities are inconclusive, and that the situation depicted in the *Wife's Complaint* may have been a not infrequent one in disturbed times. Schücking¹ thinks it probable that the *Husband's Message*, like the *Complaint*, may have been taken from some longer story as yet unidentified, while Schofield² connects it with the lay of *Gotelef*. Wülcker³ and others⁴ hold the view that the situation depicted in the two poems is not the same—that in the *Wife's Complaint* there has been a quarrel between wife and husband. This interpretation is based on the assumption that ll. 42 ff. of the latter poem refer not to the husband but to a third person—an assumption which seems to me unnecessary and probably erroneous (cf. the Introduction to the *Wife's Complaint*, p. 30 f. above). Even this interpretation, however, does not necessarily preclude the possibility of a connection between the two poems; for the passage in question, like the suggestion in l. 11 ff. of trouble made by the relatives, may mean no more than a supposition on the part of the deserted wife as to the reason for her husband's behaviour.

It has been pointed out above⁵ that the style and tone of the two poems are wholly different, in spite of certain similarities of diction⁶, the one being involved, excited and desperate, while the other is simple in style and serene in

¹ *Kleines angelsächsisches Dichterbuch* (Cöthen, 1919), p. 23 f.

² *English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer* (London, 1906), p. 201 f.

³ *Grundr. zur Gesch. der angelsächs. Litt.* (Leipzig, 1885), p. 227.

⁴ Cf. Introduction to the *Wife's Complaint*, p. 28, above.

⁵ Cf. Introduction to the *Wife's Complaint*, p. 31.

⁶ Trautmann points out (*Anglia*, Vol. xvi, 1894, p. 224 f.) the similarity between the following passages:

Wife's Complaint, l. 21 ful oft wit beotedan; *Husband's Message*, D, l. 3 wordbeotung(a), l. 26 eald gebeot.

Wife's Complaint, l. 34 leger weardiað; *Husband's Message*, D, l. 6 eard weardigan.

Wife's Complaint, l. 18 monnan funde; *Husband's Message*, D, l. 16 monnan findest.

The correspondence however may very well be due to the conventional nature of Anglo-Saxon poetic diction. Cf. Introduction to the *Wanderer*, p. 2 ff., above.

tone. This argument, however, would only indicate a difference in origin for the poems if we assume that at that time no poet existed capable of adapting his style to the moods of his characters. This, after all, is an assumption which cannot be proved. It has been pointed out¹ that there is a suggestion of incompleteness about the *Wife's Complaint*, and the proposal that the *Husband's Message* contains the sequel to it certainly tends to produce a richer and more dramatic situation. It is, however, of the nature of conjecture, even though, like the suggestions of Grein and Blackburn, containing nothing inherently improbable; and in my opinion it is wisest to suspend judgment on this question also, so long as the origin and history of both poems remain wholly obscure.

Many attempts have been made to interpret the runic passage at the close of the poem. One line of enquiry has led to the suggestion that the runes make up a name, or the names of the characters referred to in the story. In this case the runes might stand for the letters which go to form such a name, or they might each stand for the initial letter of five different names²; or again the name of each rune might form a constituent syllable of two or more names³.

A second suggestion is that the runes denote not a person or persons, but the objects symbolised by the letters. In this case it would seem that the letters do not all possess here the value given to them in the runic alphabet. It is not easy to see how *EA*, which seems to mean 'earth,' or 'grave,' would be appropriate in this connection.

None of the suggested interpretations are satisfactory.

¹ Cf. p. 28 f., above.

² One might be tempted to suggest that they may possibly stand for the initial letters of the names of five separate oath-helpers who took part in the *cyre-að*, especially as five are stated to have been the number nominated for the plaintiff in the Laws of Æthelstan, II, 9. But the *cyre-að* is again a mere suggestion, involving us in a distorted syntax which casts grave doubts on its value.

³ For suggested interpretations, cf. Hicketier, *Anglia*, Vol. XI (1889), p. 363 ff.; Trautmann, *ib.* Vol. XVI (1894), p. 219 ff.; Blackburn, *Journ. of Germ. Philol.* Vol. III (1900), p. 11, note on this passage; Imelmann, *Die altenglische Odoaker-Dichtung*, p. 40; *Forsch. z. altengl. Poesie*, p. 163 ff.; Sieper, *Die altenglische Elegie* (Strassburg, 1915), p. 213 f., etc.

Sieper's suggestion that the runes possess magical significance is unsupported by any analogy in Anglo-Saxon, and even the example cited from Norse (*Bósa Saga ok Herraúðs*, ch. 5) is hardly a parallel. On the other hand five runes are hardly enough in themselves to spell an Anglo-Saxon proper name.

It has been mentioned above¹ that the texts of the *Husband's Message* and the *Ruin* have been badly damaged by an accident to the MS. Attempts have been made to supply the lacunae in the text of the former²; but my examination and measurements of the MS. and the British Museum transcript³ have led me to the conclusion that these attempts are in many cases impossible—a view which is, I see, corroborated by the measurements of Sieper⁴. I have printed only what I have been able to read in the MS. or in the British Museum transcript. Letters supplied from the latter, and incomplete portions of letters big enough to be identified in either MS. or transcript, have been printed in italics. In the damaged portions of the text the lines (printed in small type) correspond to the lines of the MS. For the greater part of these passages I have not attempted a translation.

¹ Cf. p. xii.

² Cf. Kluge, *Angelsächsisches Lesebuch* (Halle, 1902), p. 147 f.; Blackburn, *Journ. of Germ. Philol.* Vol. III (1900), p. 8 f.

³ On the latter see Tupper, *The Riddles of the Exeter Book* (Boston, etc., 1910), p. xcvi; *Anglia*, Vol. xxxvi, p. 286 f.; Chambers, *ib.* Vol. xxxv, p. 398 f. The value of the transcript seems to me to lie less in any positive additions to the text than in the provision of a check upon proposed restorations.

⁴ *Die altenglische Elegie*, p. 134 ff. (footnotes).

B

Ic wæs be sonde, sæwealle neah,
 æt merefarope, minum gewunade
 frumstapole fæst; fea ænig wæs
 monna cynnes þæt minne þær
 5 on anæde eard beheolde,
 ac mec uhtna gehwam yð sio brune
 lagufæðme beleolc. Lyt ic wende
 þæt ic ær oppe sið æfre sceolde
 ofer meodu muðleas spreca,
 10 wordum wrixlan. þæt is wundres dæl
 on sefan searolic þam þe swyle ne conn,
 hu mec seaxes¹ ord ond seo swiþre hond,
 eorles ingeþonc ond ord somod,
 þingum geþydan, þæt ic wiþ þe sceolde
 15 for unc anum twam² ærendspræce
 abeodan bealdlice, swa hit beorna ma,
 uncre wordewidas widdor ne mænden.

C

I Nu ic onsundran þe secgan wille . . . treo cyn
 II ic tudre aweox in mec æld sceal ellor
 III londes settan : : c sealte streamas³
 IV sse (5)⁴ ful oft ic on bates
 V gesohte þær mec mon dryhten min
 VI . . . ofer⁵ heah hofu⁵.

Eom nu her cumen
 on ceolþele, and nu cunnan scealt
 hu þu ymb modlufan mines frean
 (10) on hyge hycge. Ic gehatan dear
 5 þæt þu þær tinfæste treowe findest.

¹ So edd., *seaxes* ms.² So edd., *twan* ms.³ Complete in B.M.⁴ The bracketed numbers are those which appear in most other editions and in references to the *Husband's Message* in the dictionaries.⁵ From this point to l. 20 below my lines do not correspond to the lines of the ms. In the ms. l. vi ends with 'þele' and l. 7 with 'on.'

B

Once I was on the sea-shore, by the sands, near the cliffs, and dwelt firmly rooted in my original home. Very few human beings were there who looked upon my dwelling-place in that solitary waste, but each dawn the dark wave of the sea embraced and played around me. Little did I think that I should ever at any time in my life speak and hold discourse over the mead, mouthless as I am. It is a great marvel, wonderful to the minds of those who are ignorant of such things—how the point of a knife and the right hand of a knight—his ingenuity and the point together—laid violent hands upon me...so that it has fallen to my lot to announce to thee boldly a message in thy presence and mine alone, in such a way that no other men may publish abroad our conversation.

C

...Now I have come here on shipboard, and now thou shalt learn what to think in thy mind of the heart's love of my lord. I dare promise that thou wilt find noble loyalty in him.

D

- X Hwæt! þec þonne biddan het se þisne beam agrof
 þæt þu sinchroden sylf gemunde
 on gewitlocan wordbeotunga
- (15) þe git on ærdagum oft gespræcon
 5 þenden git moston on meoduburgum
 eard weardigan, an lond bugan,
 freondscype fremman. Hine fæhþo adraf
 of sigeþeode. Heht nu sylfa þe
- (20) lustum læran¹ þæt þu lagu drefde,
 10 siþþan þu gehyrde on hliþes oran
 galan geomorne geac on bearwe.
 Ne læt þu þec siþþan siþes getwæfan,
 lade gelettan lifgendne monn.
- (25) Ongin mere secan, mæwes eþel.
 15 Onsite sænacan, þæt þu suð heonan
 ofer merelade monnan findest,
 þær se þeoden is þin on wenum. X
 Ne mæg him n² worulde willa...
- (30) mara on gemyndum, þæs þe he me sægde,
 20 þonne inc geunne al-³

XIII waldend god . . . æt somne siþþan motan secgum 7

XIV gesiþum s . . . ætlede beagas he genoh ha

XV fað (35) fēdan gol ed el þeode e

XVI þel healde fægref folda

XVII ra hæleþa þeah þe her min wine

XVIII nyde gebæded nacan ut aþrong (40) 7 on yþa geong . . .

XIX sceolde faran on flot weg forð siþes georn⁴

mengan merestreamas. Nu se mon hafað

wean oferwunnen; nis him wilna gad

ne meara ne maðma ne meododreama,

(45) ænges ofer eorþan eorlgestreona.

¹ em. Thorpe, *læran* ms.

² The ms. has a space of 2·7 cm. between *him* and *worulde*. The outline of *n* is traceable on the vellum.

³ From this point my lines correspond to those of the ms.

⁴ From this point again my lines do not correspond to those of the ms. l. xix ends in the ms. with *mengan me*.

D

✓ Harken moreover! He who inscribed this rod has bidden me ask thee, lady, to remember in thy own heart the vows to which thou and he often pledged yourselves in former days when ye were still able to live at home in the banqueting halls, dwelling in the same land and indulging your affection. He was driven by vendetta from his glorious land. Now the same man has joyfully commanded me to exhort thee to betake thyself to the sea, as soon as thou hearest the plaintive cuckoo calling in the wood on the hillside. Thereafter let no living man deter thee from thy journey, nor hinder thy voyage. Make thy way to the deep, the seamew's home. Seat thyself in a bark and then southward from here over the ocean-path thou wilt find where thy princely lover is awaiting thee. ✓ No greater joy in the world can he conceive of—so he told me—than that God Almighty should grant that henceforth ye shall be able [to dwell] together....

(xvii)...though here my dear lord, forced by necessity, launched his vessel and had to...over the course of the waves, setting forth upon the highroad of the deep, stirring the waters of the sea in his eagerness to escape. Now the man has overcome his troubles. He has no lack of luxuries—of steeds, or jewels, or of the joys of good living, or any possessions on earth such as nobles have.

25	ƿeodnes dohtor!	gif he ƿin beneah,
	ofer eald gebeot	incer twega,
	gecyre ic ætsomne	S. R. geador,
	EA. W. and D.,	aƿe benemnan
(50)	ƿæt he ƿa wære	and ƿa winetreowe
30	be him lifgendum	læstan wolde
	ƿe git on ærdagum	oft gespræcon ¹ .

¹ em. Thorpe, *gespræconn* MS.

O Princess! If he shall gain thee, in addition to the vows made by you both in the past I would nominate S, R, EA, W, and D all together to declare on oath that as long as he lives he will observe the covenant and bond of affection to which ye frequently pledged yourselves in the past.

V. THE RUIN

The *Ruin* is found on fol. 123 b–124 b of the *Exeter Book*, where it follows immediately upon the *Husband's Message*. The burn which destroyed much of the text of the latter has done even greater damage to the *Ruin*, so that many lines are lost. A word or a letter can be restored here and there from (? Robert) Chambers's transcript¹, but not enough to add materially to our knowledge of the poem.

The subject is a ruin or group of ruins—evidently stone buildings of the Roman period, though the life depicted is that of a Saxon prince's residence, such as would be familiar to the author. In the opening lines he dwells on the scene of desolation before him. Then (l. ix) comes the first place where the ms. is damaged. When it again becomes legible the poet is calling up a picture of the splendours of a wealthy court and all the riches which it had contained—a description which is interrupted in ll. 17 to 24 by a brief account of how the place came into its present ruinous condition. After l. 33 the ms. again becomes illegible. The result of the whole is to leave on the mind of the reader a contrast between the present condition of the place and its former splendour as seen through Saxon eyes.

In many respects the *Ruin* recalls the latter half of the *Wanderer*²—a resemblance which is partly due to the similarity of the subject; but it differs from the *Wanderer* in that the reflections are not represented here as being spoken. Indeed the impersonal character of the poem, and especially the opening lines, have led at least one writer³ to regard it as a riddle. It also resembles the same part of the *Wanderer* in being highly rhetorical and studied in style. On the other hand it has certain features which differentiate it from all the

¹ Cf. F. Tupper, in *Anglia*, Vol. xxxvi, p. 287 f.; cf. also pp. xi and 43 above.

² Cf. Introduction to the *Wanderer*, p. 4, above.

³ E.g. Hicketier, *Anglia*, Vol. xi, p. 366 f. Cf. also Introduction to the *Husband's Message*, p. 38, above.

other poems in this book, e.g. the rhymes combined with parallelism of ideas in ll. 5 *scorene, gedrorene*; 7 *forweorone, geleorone*; 32 *weal, eall*; 24 *wong gecrong* and perhaps 11 *steap, gearp*; and in the individual character of its vocabulary. There are a considerable number of ᾠπ. λεγ. and unusual compounds such as 7 *waldend-wyrhtan*; 23 *teaforgeapa*; 24 *hrostbeag*; and probably 8 *heardgripe*.

The majority of early scholars, e.g. Conybeare¹, Leo², Earle³, and Wülcker⁴, regarded the *Ruin* as referring to a town, whereas Ettmüller⁵, Grein⁶, Sweet⁷ and others were of opinion that the description was more appropriate to a fortress. The references to stone walls, together with other details (*burgstede, torras, wigsteal*, etc.), seem to point to fortifications. On the other hand it is not without significance that Earle and Leo came independently to the conclusion that the scene of the ruin must be Bath,—an identification which has been accepted by Wülcker and most subsequent writers, including Sieper⁸ and Schücking⁹. The reference to *babu...hat* in l. xxx f. can hardly refer to any artificial system of heating like the hypocausts used by the Romans, for these would have been unrecognisable. On the other hand, so far as I am aware, there is no evidence of extensive Roman buildings at any of the hot springs in this country except at Bath.

It is true that Bath does not appear to have been strongly fortified in Roman times, though like most Romano-British cities of the period it was surrounded by walls. But the Saxons¹⁰, whose social organisation was essentially military,

¹ *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (London, 1826), p. 249 f. Conybeare compares the poem with Llywarch Hen's *Elegy on Urien Reged*.

² *Carmen Anglosaxonicum in Codice Exoniensi servatum quod vulgo inscribitur Ruinae*, Hallesche Universitätschrift, 1865, p. 5, etc.

³ *Proceedings of the Bath Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club*, March 1871, Vol. II, No. 3, p. 259 ff.

⁴ *Anglia*, Vol. II, p. 379: *Grund. z. Gesch. der angelsächs. Litt.* (Leipzig, 1885), p. 211 f.

⁵ *Engla and Seaxna Scopas and Boceras* (Quedlinburg, etc. 1850), p. 213 f.

⁶ *Kurzgefasste angelsächsische Grammatik* (Kassel, 1880), pp. 10, 15.

⁷ 'Sketch of the History of Anglo Saxon Poetry' in W. C. Hazlitt's edition of Th. Warton's *History of English Poetry* (London, 1871), Vol. II, p. 18.

⁸ *Die altenglische Elegie* (Strassburg, 1915), p. 227.

⁹ *Kleines angelsächsisches Dichterbuch* (Cöthen, 1919), p. 32.

¹⁰ The capture of Bath by the West Saxons is recorded in the *Saxon Chronicle sub ann. 577*, and it is likely enough that the place was destroyed

could hardly have conceived of any place with buildings of importance except as a fortress, and it would be natural to them to think of the place as one which, in the time of its glory, was full of the military retinues of princes, like the Danish king's residence in *Beowulf*.

The damaged portions of the text are printed below in the same way as in the *Husband's Message* (cf. p. 43 above). I have not ventured to attempt a translation of these passages.

about this period, though the entry itself can hardly be regarded as historical. In later times there was a flourishing religious house there, which is generally believed to have been founded towards the end of the seventh century. The foundation charter (Birch, *Cart. Sax.* No. 43), issued by Osric, king of the Hwicce, is dated 676, but its genuineness has been doubted. The absence of any reference to the abbey—the present structure stands almost on the top of the springs—would seem rather to suggest that the poem was composed before its foundation; but it would be hazardous to lay much weight on this inference. For references to Roman Bath, see H. M. Scarth, *Aquae Solis or Notices of Roman Bath* (London, 1864); A. J. Taylor, *The Roman Baths of Bath*, etc. (Bath, 1913); L. H. Wilson, *Bath* (1909); F. J. Haverfield, in the *Victoria County History of Somerset* (London, 1906), Vol. i, p. 219 ff.

THE RUIN

1 Wrætlic is þæs wealstan. Wyrde gebræcon⁹

burgstede burston, broснаð enta geweorc.

Hrofas sind gehrorene, hreorge torras,

mistake from ? used 4 hrim geat¹⁰ (torras)* berofens hrim on lime,

5. 7. 10. from ? 5 scearde scurbeorge^{as} scorene gedrorene,

NH ældo undereotone. Eorðgrap hafað

waldend wyrhtan forweorone, geleorone,

heardgripe hrusan, oþ hund cneaw¹¹

werþeoda gewitan. Oft þæs wag gebad

10 ræghar and readfah rice æfter oþrum,

ofstonden under stormum; steap¹

on for angle IX geap gedreas wonað giet se num ge

be gald n. w. 11 X heapen felon grimme

XI gegrunden (15)² a scan heo

XII. g orþonc ær sceaf

XIII. g lam rindum beag mod mo

XIV. ry ne swiftne gebrægd (20) hwæt red in hringas³

hygerof gebond

weallwalan wirum . wundrum togædræ.

Beorht wæron burgræced, burnsele monige,

15 heah horngestreon, heresweg micel,

meodoheall monig mandreama full,

(25) oþ þæt þæt onwende Wyrð seo swiþe.

Crungon walo wide, cwoman woldagas,

swylyt eall fornóm secgrofeweras

20 Wurdon hyra wigstealas westenstaþolas,

brosnade burgsteall. Betend crungon,

(30) hergas to hrusan. Forþon þas hofu dreorgiað,

sem for 30 and þas teaforgeapa tigelum sceadeð

hrostbeages hrof. Hryre wonggecrong

25 gebrocen to beorgum, þær iu beorn monig

glædmod and goldbeorht, glæma gefrætweð⁴,

¹ From this point to l. xiv my lines correspond to those of the ms.

² The bracketed numbers are those which appear in most other editions and in references to the *Ruin* in the dictionaries.

³ From this point to l. 33 below my lines do not correspond to the lines of the ms.

⁴ em. Conybeare; *gefrætweð* ms.

THE RUIN

Wondrous is this masonry, shattered by the Fates. The fortifications have given way, the buildings raised by giants are crumbling. The roofs have collapsed; the towers are in ruins..... There is rime on the mortar. The walls are rent and broken away, and have fallen, undermined by age. The owners and builders are perished and gone, and have been held fast in the earth's embrace, the ruthless clutch of the grave, while a hundred generations of mankind have passed away. Red of hue and hoary with lichen this wall has outlasted kingdom after kingdom, standing unmoved by storms. The lofty arch has fallen...

Resolute in spirit he marvellously clamped the foundations of the walls with ties. There were splendid palaces, and many halls with water flowing through them; a wealth of gables towered aloft. Loud was the clamour of the troops; many were the banqueting halls, full of the joys of life—until all was shattered by mighty Fate. The dead lay on all sides. Days of pestilence had come, and all the warriors were carried off by death.

Their defences became waste places, their fortifications crumbled; the troops who should have repaired them lay dead on the earth. And so these courts lie desolate, and the framework of the dome with its red arches sheds its tiles.....where of old many a warrior, joyous hearted and radiant with gold, shone resplendent in the harness of

- (35) wlonc and wingal wighyrstum scan :
 seah on sinc, on sylfor, on searogimmas,
 on ead, on æht, on eorcanstan,
 30 on þas beorhtan burg bradan rices.
 Stanhofu stoda; stream hate wearp
 (40) widan wylme. Weal eall befeng
 beorhtan bosme¹.

xxx þær þa baþu wæron² hat on hrepre, þæt wæs hyðelic leton þoññ
 xxxi geotan | ofer harne stan hate strea
 xxxii mas' un op³ (45) þæt hring
 xxxiii mere hate þær þa ba
 xxxiv þu wæron þonne is
 xxxv re þ is cynelic þing huse
 xxxvi burg

¹ From this point my lines correspond to those of the ms.

² B.M. *wænon*. Only the upper half of *æron* in *wæron* is legible in E. B.

³ B.M. So also Schipper in E. B. where the *o* is no longer visible.

battle, proud and flushed with wine. He gazed upon the treasure, the silver, the precious stones, upon wealth, riches and pearls, upon this splendid citadel of a broad domain. There stood courts of stone, and a stream gushed forth in rippling floods of hot water. The wall enfolded within its bright bosom the whole place which contained the hot flood of the baths.....

VI. THE BATTLE OF BRUNANBURH

This poem is preserved in the Saxon Chronicle *sub ann.* 937, where it is given by five of the seven extant texts. Of these the oldest is the Parker MS. (173) in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (A). This portion of the MS. is attributed by Warner to c. 960¹. Of the remaining MSS., all contained in the Cottonian Collection, Tib. A. vi (B) is said² to date from c. 1000 (or possibly later); Tib. B. i (C) from about the middle of the eleventh century³; and Tib. B. iv (D) from c. 1050–1100⁴. W is Wheloc's edition of a MS. now almost wholly destroyed (Otho B. xi). This MS. is believed by Plummer to have been based solely on A and to date from some time before c. 1067⁵. As the basis for the following text, MS. A has been chosen, with the necessary corrections from the other MSS.

The battle celebrated in this poem was one of a series of attempts on the part of the princes of Dublin and their allies to regain the kingdom of Northumbria, which they had held for a few years previous to 927⁶. The immediate cause of the battle appears to have been the invasion of Scotland by Aethelstan in 934⁷, when his army is believed to have penetrated to Forfarshire and his fleet to have reached Caithness⁸. In 937 the Scots under Constantine II, in alliance with Anlaf, King of Dublin, and Owen (Eugenius⁹), King of the Britons of Strathclyde, retaliated by invading England. The expedition was met by an English army under

¹ Cf. Earle and Plummer, *Two Saxon Chronicles* (Oxford, 1899), Vol. II, p. xxvii. Plummer himself would apparently date this (the eighth) hand somewhat earlier.

² *Ib.* p. xxix.

³ *Ib.* p. xxx f.

⁴ *Ib.* p. xxx ff.

⁵ *Ib.* p. xcvi f.

⁶ It was in this year that Aethelstan expelled Guthfrith (Sax. Chron. E, F).

⁷ *Ib.* E, etc.

⁸ Symeon of Durham, *Historia Regum* (Rolls Series), § 107. Cf. *id.* *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae* (Rolls Series), cap. xviii. Cf. also Skene, *Celtic Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1876), Vol. I, p. 352.

⁹ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum* (Rolls Series), § 134.

Aethelstan and his brother Edmund, and defeated at a place called Brunanburh¹. Unfortunately none of the authorities give any clear indication as to the position of this place. Many identifications have been proposed, of which perhaps the one most commonly accepted is Burnswark (or Birrenswark) Hill, near Dumfries².

The Annals of the Saxon Chronicle for this period are very meagre except where, as here (cf. 942, 973, etc.), metrical pieces are introduced. The most interesting accounts of the expedition which have come down to us are those in the Irish Chronicles. In the *Annals of Ulster*³ (*sub ann.* 936) we are told:

'A great, lamentable and horrible battle was stubbornly fought between the Saxons and Norsemen, in which many thousands of Norsemen, beyond counting, were slain. But the King, i.e. Amlaibh [Anlaf] escaped with a few. On the other side, however, a great multitude of Saxons fell. But Aethelstan, King of the Saxons, was enriched with a great victory.'

Two years later the annalist refers respectfully to Aethelstan as 'the pillar of dignity of the Western World.' Further details of the battle are given in the *Annals of Clonmacnoise*⁴ (*sub ann.* 931):

'The Danes of Logh Rie (Lough Ree) arrived at Dublin. Awley [Anlaf] with all the Danes of Dublin and north

¹ *Brunandun(e)* (Aethelweard); *Brunanburh* (Florence of Worcester); *Weondun(e)*, *Ætbrunnanwerc* or *Brunnanbyrig* (Symeon of Durham); *Bruneswerce* or *Burneweste* (Gaimar), *Duinbrunde* (Pict. Chron.).

² Cf. T. Hodgkin, *Political History of England*, Vol. I (London, 1906), p. 335 f. For some account of various suggested identifications see Earle and Plummer, *Two Saxon Chronicles*, Vol. II, p. 140 f. Ambitious attempts are also to be found in the transactions of various societies, e.g. *Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, Vol. XXVI, p. 35 ff.; *Associated Architectural Societies' Reports* (Lincoln Architectural Society), Vol. XXVIII, Part I, p. 28 ff. etc. In view of the name Weondun(e) given by Symeon it has been suggested that this battle was identical with the one at *Vinheiðr*, described in *Egils Saga*, ch. 52 f.; but a serious difficulty is presented by the fact that the latter is said to have taken place before the expulsion of Eric Bloodaxe from Norway in 935. Egill's dealings with that king, as described in ch. 56 f., were a direct consequence of the death of his brother Thórólfr, who fell at *Vinheiðr*.

³ Ed. W. M. Hennessy (Dublin, 1887).

⁴ Quoted by O'Donovan in the *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters*, Vol. II, p. 633, footnote.

part of Ireland, departed and went over seas. The Danes that departed from Dublin arrived in England, and, by the help of the Danes of that kingdom, they gave battle to the Saxons on the plains of Othlyn, where there was a great slaughter of Normans and Danes, among which these ensueing captains were slain,—viz. Sithfrey and Oisle, the two sones of Sittrick Gale, Awley Fivit [i.e. Óláfr Hvíti, Anlaf the White] and Moylemorrey, the son of Cossewarra, Moyle-Isa, Geleachan, King of the Islands; Ceallach, prince of Scotland, with 30,000, together with 800 captains about Awley Mac Godfrey (Norse Guðröðr), and about Arick Mac Brith, Hoa, Deck¹, Imar, the King of Denmark's own son, with 4,000 soldiers in his guard were all slain.'

The Constantine who left a young son slain on the battlefield was Constantine II, son of Aedh and grandson of Kenneth I (Mac Alpin). He was king of Alba (i.e. Scotland north of the Clyde and Forth) from c. 900–942. Since the days of his grandfather the dynasty had been trying to extend their power into the south of Scotland. He was called in by Aldred and Uhtred, the rulers of Bamborough, to assist them against Rægnald in 918, but was defeated by the latter at Corbridge². He is said³ to have submitted to Aethelstan in 926; but hostilities broke out later, and Aethelstan invaded his territories in 934 (cf. p. 59). In 942 he retired and became abbot of the monastery of St Andrews⁴. His successor, Malcolm I, son of Donald, was in alliance with Edmund⁵. According to the Pictish Chronicle⁶ it was said that Constantine had come out of his monastery for a time to fight against Eadred, though others assigned the expedition to his successor Malcolm. This discrepancy will no doubt account for the varying length of reigns assigned to Con-

¹ This sentence would seem to be a mistranslation. The original is lost.

² Symeon of Durham, *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* (Rolls Series), x, § 22; but cf. the Pictish Chronicle, ed. Skene in *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots* (Edinburgh, 1867), p. 9, where Constantine is said to have been victorious.

³ Sax. Chron. D.

⁴ Cf. Skene, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

⁵ Cf. Sax. Chron. A, *sub ann.* 945.

⁶ Skene, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

stantine and Malcolm in the Scottish records¹. Constantine is said to have died in 952².

The identity of the Anlaf mentioned in the poem has given rise to a good deal of discussion. The poem itself does not mention his father's name, while the following entries in the Saxon Chronicle (our earliest authority) clearly recognise two kings of this name belonging to the same family. Among the Latin historians of the twelfth century we find a curious discrepancy. Symeon of Durham³ describes the leader of the Norse forces in the battle at Brunanburh as the son of Guthfrith, while on the other hand William of Malmesbury⁴ refers to him as the son of Sihtric⁵. Sihtric (Sigtrygg I) became king of Dublin c. 916 and died in 926⁶. He had succeeded Rægnald (Rögnvaldr)—his brother or cousin—in York c. 921–5⁷, and entered into an agreement with Aethelstan, whose sister he married, in 925⁸. On his death⁹ he was succeeded, at least in the north of England, by Guthfrith¹⁰ (Guðröðr), who was probably his brother¹¹, but the latter was expelled by Aethelstan in 927¹². Later we find two kings called Anlaf reigning (in succession?) in the north of England. One Anlaf was the son of Guthfrith, the other of Sihtric. The former died c. 942¹³. This is clearly the Anlaf

¹ Cf. Skene, *op. cit.*, p. cxli f.

² *Annals of Ulster*, sub ann. 951 (952).

³ *Hist. Dun. Eccles.*, Book II, cap. XVIII, sub ann. 934.

⁴ *Gest. Reg. Angl.* § 131.

⁵ According to Florence of Worcester (*Chronicon ex Chronicis*, ed. Thorpe, Vol. I, p. 132) the Anlaf who fought at Brunanburh was the son-in-law of the Scottish king Constantine; but he does not identify him with Anlaf Sihtriesson, whom he mentions on p. 134.

⁶ There appears to be some doubt as to whether he remained king of Dublin till his death. According to the *Annals of Ulster*, 919 (920) he 'left Dublin through Divine Power.' On this question see Steenstrup, *Normannerne* (Copenhagen, 1882), Vol. III, p. 17; Vogt, *Dublin som Norsk By* (Christiania, 1896), p. 123.

⁷ Cf. Sax. Chron. D, sub ann. 923, 925; *Annals of Ulster*, sub ann. 920 (921).

⁸ Sax. Chron. D.

⁹ *Ib.* sub ann. 926; *Annals of Ulster*, sub ann. 926 (927); *Chronicon Scotorum* (Rolls Series), sub ann. 926.

¹⁰ Sax. Chron. E, F, sub ann. 927. Fl. of Worces., *Mon. Chron. ex Chron.* Vol. I, p. 130 f.

¹¹ W. of Malmesbury, *Gest. Reg. Angl.* § 734. Florence of Worcester says (*loc. cit.*) that he was a son of Sihtric; this statement is more difficult to reconcile with the chronology of the two Anlafs, of whom the son of Guthfrith would seem to have been the older man.

¹² Sax. Chron. E, sub ann.

¹³ Sax. Chron. E, sub ann.; cf. *Chron. Scot.*, sub ann. 940.

who according to the Saxon Chronicle (D) was accepted as king by the Northumbrians in 941, and subsequently captured Tamworth¹. He was then besieged in Leicester by Edmund, but came to terms with him. He was succeeded in the North of England by his brother Rægnald and by his namesake Anlaf the son of Sihtric, both of whom were shortly afterwards expelled by Edmund². Anlaf the son of Sihtric, who is also called Cwiran (Cuaran), made another attempt to establish himself in Northumbria a few years later, but after two or three years he was again expelled³. In Dublin however his reign was long and prosperous, though he was eventually defeated in 980 by Maelsechlainn (Malachy) II, and died the same year as a pilgrim in Iona⁴.

From the Saxon Chronicle one would certainly infer that the defeated leader at Brunanburh was the son of Guthfrith—the same man who after Aethelstan's death succeeded in establishing his power over a considerable part of the Midlands as well as in the North of England—rather than his cousin and successor, the son of Sihtric. The identification with the latter cannot be traced with any certainty beyond the Norman historians who lived nearly two centuries after the event. Malmesbury, it is true, appears to have had an early Latin authority for this reign; but his inaccuracy and want of judgment are in general so palpable that he cannot be trusted unless he is evidently reproducing the words of his original.

The evidence of the Irish historians, though not entirely clear⁵, points to the same conclusion. According to the *Four Masters*, *sub ann.* 935 'Amlaeibh [Anlaf], son of Godfrey [i.e. Guthfrith], lord of the foreigners, came at Lammas from Ath Cliath and carried off as prisoners Amlaeibh Ceanncairech from Loch Ribh (Lough Ree), and the foreigners who were with him after breaking their ships.' On their return journey they

¹ Sax. Chron., *sub ann.* 943.

² *Ib.* A, *sub ann.* 944. Cf. E.

³ Sax. Chron. E, *sub ann.* 949, 952.

⁴ *Annals of the Four Masters* (transl. J. O'Donovan, Dublin, 1856), *sub ann.* 980; etc.

⁵ Cf. the confused entries with regard to the plundering of Cill-Cuilind, *Annals of Ulster*, *sub ann.* 937, 938, etc. Cf. also *War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill* (Rolls Series), p. 282.

plundered Clonmacnoise¹; and Todd suggests² that the expedition was undertaken with the object of collecting men and supplies for the expedition to England. For it is stated immediately after the above entry that 'the foreigners of Ath Cliath (i.e. Dublin) left their fortress and went to England,' and in *ann.* 936 (as also in the *Annals of Ulster*, *sub ann.* 937) 'Amlaibh, son of Godfrey, came to Dublin again.' It will be seen that this account of Anlaf's movements is quite in accordance with the passage from the *Annals of Clonmacnoise* quoted above; but that the annalists were not in entire agreement is seen from the entry in the *Four Masters*, *sub ann.* 938 'A victory was gained by the king of the Saxons over Constantine, son of Aedh; Anlaf, or Amhlaeibh, son of Sitric; and the Britons.'

This piece has certain characteristics which differentiate it from other Anglo-Saxon poems. Its nearest affinities are clearly with the poem on the Battle of Maldon. Both would seem to have been composed not long after the events with which they deal. Both use the metrical form and the conventional terminology of early heroic poetry. But besides extolling the prowess of the leaders whom they celebrate, they are inspired to a considerable extent by national patriotism—a feeling which is wanting in the earlier poetry, and which testifies to the growth of national consciousness in the England of the tenth century.

In other respects there is a marked contrast between the two pieces. Our poem contains no detailed description of the battle and no speeches. On the other hand, the poet has been carried away by the feeling of triumph. He gloats over the discomfiture of the enemy, in a style not unlike that of Laurence Minot³, and even descends to abuse of the old Scottish king (*eald inwidda*, l. 46). In spite of these features the poem is by no means a simple unsophisticated song of victory. The most individual feature of its style is the

¹ *Annals of Ulster* (Rolls Series), *sub ann.* 935 (936).

² *War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*, p. 281.

³ Cf. (ed. J. Hall, Oxford, 1897), i, ll. 65—80; ii, ll. 7—24, etc.

liberality with which the traditional phraseology of poetry has been employed. Epithets are piled one upon another in a way which renders translation into modern English very difficult; and this difficulty is increased by a superabundance of adverbial phrases, e.g. l. 46 ff.; l. 54 ff.; l. 66 ff., etc.

It will be seen that the poem contains a number of forms which deviate from the standard (literary) West Saxon language of the time, e.g. *geflemed*, *nede*, *giung*, *gelpan*, *gesleht*, *hlehhan*, *ageted*. Some of these forms are peculiar to the Parker text, and we might be inclined at first sight to attribute them to the scribe, especially in view of the fact that he has made some obvious mistakes; but this is probably not the true explanation. Such irregular forms do not occur in the preceding and following annals in the Parker text, and there are enough of them in the texts of the poem contained in the other three MSS. to render it more than probable that they come from the original. Their comparative infrequency in the three later texts is therefore probably due to correction. We may notice also in this connection the occurrence of words of Scandinavian origin, e.g. *dænnede* (O. N. *dynja*), l. 12; *cnear* (O. N. *knörr*), ll. 35, 53; and more particularly the intransitive use of the verb *lecgan* in l. 22, which is common in early Norse, but of which the Anglo-Saxon dictionaries give no other instance. These considerations, as far as they go, would seem rather to point to the Danelagh as the home of the poet—a supposition which is hardly disproved by the national character of his sympathies. In any case the reader can hardly fail to be struck by the resemblance—in tone as well as in subject matter—between this poem and that on the Battle of Hafsford, p. 90 below.

THE BATTLE OF BRUNANBURH

- Her Æpelstan cyning, eorla dryhten,
 beorna beahgifa, and his broþor eac,
 Eadmund æpeling, ealdorlangne tir
 geslogon æt sæcce¹ sweorda eegum
 5 ymbe Brunnanburh. Bordweal clufan,
 heowan heapolinde, hamora lafan²,
 aforan³ Eadweardes, swa him geæbele wæs
 from cneomægum þa hie æt campe oft
 wiþ laþra gehwæne land ealgodon⁴,
 10 hord and hamas. Hettend⁵ crungun,
 Sceotta leoda⁶ and scipflotan
 fæge feollan. Feld dænnede⁷
 secga swate⁸ siðþan sunne up
 on morgentid, mære tungol
 15 glad ofer grundas, Godes condel beorht,
 eces Drihtnes, oð⁹ sio¹⁰ æbele gesceaft
 sah to setle¹¹. þær læg secg mænig
 garum ageted¹², guma¹³ norþerna¹⁴
 ofer scild scoten, swilce Scittisc eac
 20 werig wiges¹⁵ sæd¹⁶. Wesseaxe¹⁷ forð
 ondlongne dæg, eorodcistum¹⁸
 on last legdun laþum þeodum,
 heowan herefleman¹⁹ hindan þearle
 mecum mylenscearpan²⁰. Myrce ne wyrndon
 25 heardes²¹ hondplegan hæleþa nanum
 þæ²² mid Anlafe ofer æra gebland²³

¹ *sæcce* D; *geslogon æt sake* B.² *aforan* B, D; *aforan* C.³ *heted* D.⁴ *dennede* B, C; *dennode* D; *dynede* W.⁵ *þ* B.⁶ *forgrunden* B.⁷ *wigges* B, C.⁸ *andlangne dæg eored cystum* B, C, D.⁹ *here flyman* B; *here flymon* C; *heora flyman* D; *here fliman* W.¹⁰ *mylen scearpum* B, C; *mycel scearpum* D.¹¹ B, C, D; *he eardes* A; *heordes* W.¹² *þe* W; *þara ðe* B, C; *þæra þe* D.¹³ *ear gebland* B, C, D; *geblond* W.² *lafum* B, C, D.⁴ *gealgodon* D.⁶ *Scotta leode* B, C, D.⁸ B, C, D; *secgas hwate* A.¹¹ *sætle* D.¹⁴ *norðerne* B, C; *norþerne* D.¹⁷ *Westsexe* B; *Wessexe* C; *Wesseaxe* D.²³ *ear gebland* B, C, D; *geblond* W.

THE BATTLE OF BRUNANBURH

In this year King Aethelstan, lord of knights and liberal rewarder of warriors, and his brother, Prince Edmund also, won undying glory by the edge of the sword in battle at Brunanburh. With their hammered blades the sons of Edward clove the serried bucklers, and hacked the shields of linden wood, for with them it was an instinct inherent in their family always to defend their country, their treasure, and their homes in battle against every enemy.

The foemen were laid low, the warriors of the Scots and the host from the ships fell doomed. The field was flowing with the blood of men from the time when the sun, that glorious star, the bright candle of God, the Lord eternal, rose on high above the horizon in the morning hours—until that noble being sank to its rest. There lay many a warrior, men of the North, torn by the spear, shot over their shields; and many a Scotsman too lay lifeless—they had had their fill of battle.

All day long the West Saxons with troops of horse pressed on in pursuit of the enemies' forces. Fiercely they cut down the fugitives from behind with swords sharpened on the grindstone. Nor did the Mercians refuse hard fighting to any of the warriors who in the ship's bosom had followed Anlaf over the tossing waters to our land to meet their doom in

- on lides¹ bosme land gesohtun,
 fæge² to gefeohte. Fife lægun
 on þam campstede cyninges³ giunge⁴
 30 sweordum aswefede, swilce seofene eac
 eorlas Anlafes, unrim⁵ heriges
 flotan and Sceotta⁶. Ðær geflemed⁷ wearð
 Norðmanna bregu⁸, nede gebeded⁹,
 to lides stefne litle weorode.
 35 Cread¹⁰ cneor on¹¹ flot¹², cyning¹³ ut gewat
 on fealene¹⁴ flod feorh generede.
 Swilce þær eac se froda mid fleame com
 on his cyþpe norð Costontinus¹⁵,
 har¹⁶ hilderiŋ¹⁷. Hreman ne þorfte
 40 mæcan¹⁸ gemanan. He¹⁹ wæs his mæga sceard,
 freonda gefyllde on folcstede²⁰,
 beslagen²¹ æt sæcce, and his sunu forlet
 on wælstowe wundun forgrunden²²,
 giungne²³ æt guðe. Gelpa²⁴ ne þorfte
 45 beorn blandenfeax²⁵ bil geslehtes²⁶,
 eald inwidda²⁷ ne Anlaf þy ma
 mid heora herelafum hlehhhan ne þorftun
 þæt hie²⁸ beaduweorca beteran wurdun
 on campstede cumbelgehnades²⁹,
 50 garmittinge³⁰ gumena gemotes
 wæpengewrixles þæs³¹ hi on wælfelda
 wiþ Eadweardes aforan³² plegodan.
 Gewitan him þa Norðmen nægledcnearrum³³,
 dreorig daraða laf on Dinges³⁴ mere
 55 ofer deop³⁵ wæter Difelin³⁶ secan

¹ lides C. ² fage D. ³ -gas B, C, D. ⁴ geonge B, C; iunga, D.
⁵ unrim C. ⁶ Scotta B, C, D. ⁷ geflymed B, C, D. ⁸ brego B, C, D.
⁹ gebæded B, C, D; neade geb. C, D; nyde W. ¹⁰ creat D.
¹¹ B, C, D; cnea ren A. ¹² flod D. ¹³ cyning... flod om. D.
¹⁴ fealone B, C. ¹⁵ Constantinus B, C, D. ¹⁶ hal D. ¹⁷ h. rinc, B, C, D.
¹⁸ meca B; meca C; meca D. ¹⁹ her B, C. ²⁰ on his folcstede C.
²¹ forlegen B; beslegen C; beslægen D. ²² B, C, D; fer- A.
²³ geongne B, C, D. ²⁴ gylpan B, C, D, W. ²⁵ -fex B, C.
²⁶ geslhtes C, D; -slyhtes B. ²⁷ inwitta B, C; inwuda D.
²⁸ B; hi C, D; heo A. ²⁹ cumbod-, superscribed vel cumbel- A;
 cumbol gehnastes B, C, D. ³⁰ mittunge D. ³¹ þæs þe D.
³² eaforan B; aforan C. ³³ negled C; dæg gled on garum D.
³⁴ dynges B; dinges C; dyniges D; Dinnes W. ³⁵ deopne D.
³⁶ Dyflin B; Dyflin C; Dyftig D.

battle. On the field of battle lay five young kings stretched lifeless by the sword, and with them seven of Anlaf's earls and a countless host of seamen and of Scots. There the prince of the Northmen with but a small following was compelled by irresistible force to flee to the prow of his ship. The king's bark was launched in haste, and he made his way out over the grey waters and saved his life.

There also the aged Constantine, the grey-haired warrior, set off in flight to his country in the North. No cause had he to exult in that clash of arms. He was bereaved of his kinsmen and friends, who had been cut down in the struggle and lay lifeless on the field of battle. On the place of slaughter he left his young son mangled by the blows he had received in the conflict. No need had the hoary knight—the old scoundrel—to exult in the clash of swords. As little cause had Anlaf: no need had they to gloat—they and the remnants of their hosts—over their superiority in martial deeds upon the field of battle, when the standards came into collision, when spear met spear and man encountered man and blade was crossed with blade—as they competed with the sons of Edward on the field of slaughter.

Then the sorry remnant of the Norsemen, who had escaped the spears, set out upon the sea of Dingle in their nail-studded ships, making for Dublin over the deep waters. Humiliated

eft Iraland¹, æwiscmode.
 Swilce þa gebroþer² begen ætsamne³,
 cyning and æþeling cyþþe sohton,
 Wesseaxena land, wiges hreamige⁴.
 60 Letan him behindan hræ bryttian⁵
 saluwigpadan⁶ þone sweartan hræfn
 hyrnednebban⁷ and þane hasewan padan⁸
 earn æftan hwit æses brucan
 grædigne guðhafoc⁹ and þæt græge deor
 65 wulf on wealde. Ne wearð wæl mare
 on þis eiglande¹⁰ æfre¹¹ gieta
 folces gefylled¹² beforan þissum
 sweordes ecgum, þæs þe us secgað bec,
 ealde uðwitan, siþþan eastan hider
 70 Engle and Seaxe up becoman
 ofer brade¹³ brimu Brytene sohtan
 wlance wigsmiþas Wealas¹⁴ ofercoman
 eorlas arhwate eard begeatan.

¹ B, C, D (Yra- C, D); 7 eft hira land A. ² broðor C. ³ bege æt runne D.

⁴ hremige B, C, D; a superscribed e in A.

⁵ hraw bryttigean B; hra brittigan C; hra bryttinga D; hræfn Bryttian W;
 æ of hræ superscribed w in A.

⁶ salo- B, C, D.

⁷ hyrnet- D.

⁸ 7 þone hasu (haso B) padan (wad- D, W), B, C, D.

⁹ cuð- D.

¹⁰ eglande B, iglande C, D.

¹¹ B, C, D; æfer A.

¹² afylled B.

¹³ B, C, D; brad A; brymum brad W.

¹⁴ B, C, D; wealles A.

in spirit they returned to Ireland. The two brothers also, the King and the Prince of the English, both together returned to their country, the land of Wessex, triumphing in their victory.

Behind them they left a heap of carnage to be shared by the black raven with its dusky plumage and hooked beak, and the dun-coated white-tailed eagle—a feast to be enjoyed by the hungry hawks of battle, and by that grey beast, the wolf of the forest.

Never in this island before now, so far as the books of our ancient historians tell us, has an army been put to greater slaughter at the edge of the sword, since the time when the Angles and Saxons made their way hither from the east over the wide seas, invading Britain, when warriors eager for glory, proud forgers of battle, overcame the Welsh and won for themselves a country.

NORSE MANUSCRIPTS

Norse MSS. which consist wholly or mainly of poetry are few in number, and with the exception of those which contain the poems of the *Edda* they are of comparatively little importance. Most of the early poems which have survived, including the pieces contained in this volume, owe their preservation to the fact that they have been incorporated by way of quotation in prose works of a much later date. One consequence of this is that the great bulk of Norse poetry has come down to us in a fragmentary state. Very often we have only single strophes of what were probably poems of considerable length. Sometimes again we are left in doubt as to whether the passages quoted are complete poems or merely extracts.

The remains of Norse poetry of the ninth and tenth centuries are preserved chiefly in historical works of the thirteenth century, most of which were written in Iceland. Perhaps the most interesting of these is the *Heimskringla* of Snorri Sturluson (d. 1241), a history of the kings of Norway from the earliest times to 1177. The same author also wrote an account of the diction of poetry (*Skáldskaparmál*) in his *Prose Edda*, and here also a very large number of quotations from early poets are preserved.

At one time the number of vellum MSS. containing sagas and other prose works was very considerable. They were written for the most part between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries; not a few dated from the middle of the thirteenth century and were thus almost contemporary with the time when historical writing was at its best. Unfortunately a very large number of these MSS. were destroyed in the great fire in the University Library at Copenhagen in 1728¹. We are therefore largely dependent for our knowledge of such works upon paper copies of these MSS., which were made in the

¹ Cf. p. xi, above.

seventeenth century. Fortunately, owing to the zeal displayed by Scandinavian scholars during that period, these are numerous, and for the most part evidently written with great care. It is the practice of Scandinavian scholars to call the paper MSS. by the names of the vellums from which they are copied, and which are now preserved only as a few shrivelled leaves, when they survive at all.

It will be convenient here to give a short account of the MSS. of the historical work from which the four following pieces are derived.

I. *Fagrskinna*. The University Library at Copenhagen is known to have possessed two vellum MSS. of this work—A and B—both of which were burnt in 1728. The name *Fagrskinna* ('Beautiful Vellum'), which is due to Torfæus, belongs properly only to the former of these MSS. (which is believed to have been written in the early part of the fourteenth century) though it is now generally applied to the work itself. B, of which a small fragment remains, appears to have been much earlier, and was probably written about 1250. It is known to have come to Copenhagen from Bergen some time between 1610 and 1728. Upon the paper MSS. which are derived partly from A, partly from B, we are almost wholly dependent for our knowledge of the *Hrafnsmál* and the *Eiríksmál*. They contain also the *Battle of Hafsfjord* and the *Hákonarmál* str. 1—7, and 19—21.

II. *Heimskringla* (H). Snorri's History of the kings of Norway (see above). This work is preserved in an imperfect form in a number of paper MSS. descended from a MS. known as *Kringla* (K), which appears to have been written c. 1260, as well as in certain vellums of which the most important are the *Codex Frisianus* (F) and the *Jöfrskinna* (J), both written about 1325, and both far from complete.

III. The *Flateyjarbók* (Fl.), with which may be classed certain other texts published in the *Forn-Manna Sögur* (F. M. S.). The *Flateyjarbók*, like the *Heimskringla*, contains sagas of the kings of Norway, but these sagas are for the most part much longer than those contained in the *Heimskringla*, and it is clear that the compiler has frequently incorporated

many shorter independent narratives in recounting the lives of the kings. Thus the *Saga of Olaf Tryggvason* virtually contains the history of Norway and much of the history of Iceland and Denmark down to King Olaf's own times.

The first folios of the *Flateyjarbók* were written in the year 1387, but according to the editor¹ the greater part of the text seems to be of somewhat earlier date, probably between 1370 and 1380. It was taken from Iceland in 1662 by Torfaeus as a present from Bishop Brynjólf Sveinsson to King Frederick III, and is now in the Royal Library at Copenhagen. Previously to that date it is known to have been in the possession of a family who had dwelt on the Island of Flatey in Breiðfjörðr since the fourteenth century.

The text of the *Saga of Olaf Tryggvason* contained in the *Forn-Manna Sögur* (ed. Copenhagen, 1825) Vols. I-III is based on a vellum Arn. Magn. No. 61 which presents a text very close to the *Flateyjarbók*. The editors also used the *Flateyjarbók* itself as well as several MSS. nearly related to it.

In general the text of the poems preserved in these MSS. is hardly better than that of the Anglo-Saxon poems—for which, as we have seen, we are for the most part dependent upon a single MS. It is to be remembered however that the former poems were not written down until some two or three centuries after their composition, and that the language in which they are preserved is that which was current in Iceland or in Norway in the thirteenth century. This frequently spoils the metre of the poems; in particular Norwegian MSS. often fail to show the alliteration, since certain initial sounds had disappeared in the language of Norway by the thirteenth century. Scandinavian scholars usually publish the poems in a form of language which is substantially that of the earliest Icelandic MSS.

In the *Hrafnsmál* and the *Eiríksmál* I have followed the orthography of the only text (*Fagrskinna*) in which these poems are preserved, with a few exceptions which will be noted in due course. The texts of the other five poems are derived very largely from seventeenth century (paper) copies

¹ C. R. Unger (Christiania, 1860—1868), Vol. I, p. II f.

(often numerous) of lost MSS. It has been the custom to base the printed editions on a collation of the surviving vellums and of these paper MSS., which often preserve a better text than the vellums; but not many complete transcripts of individual MSS., whether vellum or paper, have been published. As the orthography of the various MSS. differs to a certain extent, it has been the custom for editors of such conflate texts to normalise, though there is some difference between the systems adopted by the various editors. I have followed, except in the two poems above mentioned, the orthography employed in the poems contained in the sagas published by Sigurður Kristjánsson at Reykjavík, as I think this system is probably the one most familiar to English readers.

It should be observed that the language of the *Fagrskinna*, which is Norwegian of c. 1250, differs in a few respects from the Icelandic of the same period. The chief points to notice are: (1) *æ* stands (as in Anglo-Saxon) for a short as well as a long vowel, generally corresponding to Icelandic *e*, as in *sægi*; (2) *œy* corresponds to Icel. *ey*, as in *hæyra*; (3) initial *h-* is lost before *l* and *r*, as in *lýði ringberendr*; (4) *a* is regularly preserved before *u* in the following syllable (as in *fagrum*, *tjörghaðom*), owing to the absence of labial umlaut; (5) *l* and *n* are doubled before *d* (as in late Icelandic texts such as the *Flateyjarbók*), e.g. *Harallde*, *lannd*. *c* is often written for *k*, *v* for (internal) *f*, and *e*, *o* for *i*, *u* respectively in unaccented syllables, but these features are also found in early Icelandic MSS.; *gh* is sometimes written for (internal) *g*.

I have added the initial *h-* before *l* and *r* to show the alliteration, but in other respects I have not departed from the orthography of the *Fagrskinna*¹, though it must be remembered that this represents the language of a period nearly four centuries later than the time of Hornklofi.

¹ Except that, as elsewhere, (1) *i* and *j*, *u* and *v* are distinguished respectively according to their modern usage, (2) *ö* is distinguished from *o*, and (3) accents are inserted to mark the long vowels. The *Fagrskinna* does not mark accents, while the usage of the earlier Icelandic MSS. is inconsistent in this respect.

VII. THE HRAFNSMÁL

With the exception of Bragi Boddason who is believed to have lived in the early part of the ninth century, the earliest Norwegian poets whose names have come down to us in connection with existing works are those who were attached to the court of Harold the Fairhaired. Harold is believed to have been born c. 850, and to have succeeded his father Halfdan in the kingdoms of Vestfold (in the south-east of Norway) and Sogn (on the west coast) when he was about ten years of age. In the course of the next twelve years he subdued the whole of Norway, which had previously contained a considerable number of kingdoms. His last great battle was the naval action in the Hafs fjord, off Stavanger, in 872, when he encountered and defeated the confederate kings of the south-west.

Among the best known of the poets in Harold's train are Thjóðólfr of Hvín and Thorbjörn Hornklofi. The former was specially honoured by the king, and entrusted by him with the upbringing of one of his sons. Two of his longer works have survived, of which one is the *Ynglingatal*, a genealogical poem in which he traces the ancestry of a certain Rögnvaldr—apparently a first cousin of Harold—back to the early kings of Sweden and the god Freyr. Another work of the same poet is the *Haustlöng*, which celebrates various adventures of the gods with the giants. In addition to these, a number of strophes are attributed to him in the prose histories of Harold's reign, as well as in Snorri Sturluson's *Prose Edda*. Many of these strophes are however assigned to Hornklofi by other authorities¹.

Of Thorbjörn Hornklofi little is known. In the *Fagrskinna*, ch. 2, he is described as an 'old friend of kings²,' and it is

¹ The frequent confusion of these two poets is believed to be partly due to the practice of writing an initial letter in mss. in place of the full name. Þ would stand for either Thjóðólfr or Thorbjörn (Hornklofi). Cf. F. Jónsson, *Den Oldnorske og Oldislundske Litteraturs Historie* (Copenhagen, 1894), Vol. I, p. 431.

² A similar expression is applied to Thjóðólfr in the *Flateyjarbók*, Vol. I, p. 567.

stated that he had been familiar with court life from his childhood. In the *Skálda Saga*¹, ch. 1, he is said to have had an influential relative in the Uplands called Hrólfur Hnefja—father-in-law of Earl Rögnvaldr of Møre, and grandfather of Hrólfur (Rollo), the first earl of Normandy. He is mentioned also in an interesting passage in *Egils Saga*, ch. 8, which incidentally would seem to indicate that the praise which Hornklofi bestows upon the king for his treatment of his court poets was not undue: 'Of all the men of his retinue King Harold showed most honour to his poets, and the second high-seat was assigned to them. Here in the first place² sat Auðun Illskælda. He was the eldest of them and had been the poet of Halfdan the Black, the father of King Harold. Next to him sat Thorbjörn Hornklofi, and next again Ölvir Hnúfa. Next to the last named a seat was assigned to Barðr.' The *Skálda Saga* gives an account of a discreditable adventure which befell the first three of these on one occasion. To atone for it they had to undertake a dangerous mission to Sweden.

Portions of at least two of Hornklofi's poems have come down to us, in addition to some detached strophes attributed to him in the *Prose Edda*. Of these longer pieces one was known as the *Glymdrápa*. It is in the common skaldic metre called *Dróttkvæði*, and contained apparently a general survey of Harold's expeditions and battles. The second is the piece given below. With the exception of two strophes it is preserved only in the *Fagrskinna*. Strophe 6 however is quoted also in the *Heimskringla* (*Saga of Harold the Fair-haired*, ch. 16), and strophe 13 also in the *Flateyjarbók*, Vol. I, p. 568 (and *Forn-Manna Sögur*, Vol. x, p. 179), though here it is attributed not to Hornklofi but to Auðun. No name is given to this poem by any of the early authorities. By modern scholars it has been variously called *Hrafnsmál*³, *Haraldsmál*⁴ and *Haraldskvæði*⁵.

The metre used in this poem is chiefly the *Málaháttr*,

¹ *Forn-Manna Sögur*, Vol. III. ² Lit. 'inmost,' i.e. farthest from the door.

³ J. Sigurðsson, *Snorra Edda*, Vol. III, p. 410.

⁴ Moebius, *Edda Sæmundar hins Fróða* (Leipzig, 1860), p. 228.

⁵ Wisén, *Carmina Norræna* (Lund, 1886), p. 122.

which is found also in certain poems of the *Edda*, e.g. the *Atlamál* and portions of the *Atlakviða* and the *Hamðismál*. Strophes 10—15 are partly in *Ljóðahátt*. For this combination we may compare the *Hákonarmál* and the *Eiríksmál*. In strophes 8 and 15 we have *Fornyrðislag*—the metre used in most of the narrative poems of the *Edda* and practically identical with that of the Anglo-Saxon poems.

The setting of the poem is somewhat peculiar. It consists of a dialogue between a valkyrie and a raven¹, in which the latter tells the former many interesting details about the warriors of King Harold and the life spent by various classes of people at his court. It is not at all certain that the poem is complete. Strophes 1—6, which clearly form the beginning of a poem, are quoted by the *Fagrskinna* on pp. 6—9², strophes 7—11 on pp. 9—11, strophes 12, 13 on pp. 11, 12, and strophes 14, 15 on p. 12, the quotations being separated by short prose passages. Some strophes may have been omitted between the quotations and possibly also at the end.

In *Skáldskaparmál*, ch. 2, there is a single strophe quoted which previous editors have generally regarded as forming a part of the *Hrafnsmál*:

Valr lá þar á sandi, vitinn³ enum eineygja
Fríggjar faðmbyggvi; fögnuðum dád slíkrí⁴.

There lay the dead on the strand, allotted to Frigg's one-eyed husband. Our hearts were gladdened by such doings.

The subject of *fögnuðum* is not stated. The use of the word in this connection would be applicable to ravens, and consequently would not be out of place in the *Hrafnsmál*; but it is to be observed that Snorri himself cites Thjóðólfr of Hvín, not Hornklofi, as the author.

Two further fragments have generally been regarded as

¹ We may compare the Serbian poem on Kraljević Marko which is composed in the form of a dialogue between a Vila and an eagle (Karadžić, *Srpske Narodne Pjesme*, Vol. II (Vienna, 1875), p. 328 ff.).

² The references are to F. Jónsson, *Fagrskinna* (Copenhagen, 1902-3).

³ K; *vitt* Cod. Worm.

⁴ The notes to this strophe and the two strophes on p. 79 below will be found on p. 181 below.

forming a part of the *Hrafnsmál*. They are found in the *Flateyjarbók*, Vol. I, p. 576 (and *Forn-Manna Sögur*, Vol. x, p. 194 f.). The second one occurs also in *ib.* Vol. I, p. 42 (and *Forn-Manna Sögur*, Vol. I, p. 7) and in the *Heimskringla* (*Saga of Harold the Fairhaired*, ch. 21). They are as follows:

1 Annat skulu þær eiga ambáttir Ragnhildar,
 dísir dramblátar, at drykkjumálum,
 an séið hergaupur es Haraldr of hafi
 sveltar valdreyra¹, en verar þeira bræð.

2 Hafnaði Holmrygjum ok Hörða meyjum,
 hverri enni Heinversku ok Hölga² ættar³
 konungr enn kynstóri, es tók konu Danska.

1 Those haughty dames, the handmaidens of Ragnhildr, shall have something else to relate over their cups than that ye wolves have been stinted of the blood of slaughter by Harold and feasted by their husbands.

2 The king of noble lineage turned away the maidens of the Holmrygir, and of the Hörðar, and all those of Heiðmörk, and of the stock of Helgi, when he took a Danish wife.

These strophes, like the last, are in the *Málaháttir*, and the second of them is attributed to Hornklofi by the *Heimskringla*, together with the *Flateyjarbók*, Vol. I, p. 42, and the *Forn-Manna Sögur*, Vol. I, p. 7; but they are both assigned to Thjóðólfr in the *Flateyjarbók*, Vol. I, p. 576 (*Forn-Manna Sögur*, Vol. x, p. 194 f.). All that one can say with safety is that they might, not inappropriately, have formed a portion of the *Hrafnsmál*.

The majority of scholars, following the suggestion of Munch and Unger⁴, believe that the piece given on p. 90 below

¹ F. M. S. Vol. XII, p. 226; *valdreyrgar* Flat.; *valdreyrar* F. M. S. Vol. x, p. 195.

² F. M. S. Vol. I, p. 7; *Halga* K; *Holga* Fris.; *kalpa* J 1; *hölda* F. M. S. Vol. x, p. 195; Flat. Vol. I, p. 576.

³ *Hörða...ættar*, *Haralldr meyjum* | *hverre hinn(e) hæversku* | *hilmir nor-ræne* Flat. I, p. 42.

⁴ *Oldnorsk Læsebog*, Christiania, 1847, p. 111. This does not however appear to have been the view of Nygaard who in *Udvalg af den Norrøne Literatur* (Bergen, 1875), p. 316 f., printed the piece given on p. 90 below as a separate poem under the title of *Slaget i Haversfjord*.

originally formed part of the *Hrafnsmál*; and in modern editions this piece is usually inserted between strophes 6 and 7. It is in the same metre (*Málahátttr*) as the *Hrafnsmál* and is generally assumed to be by the same author; but the external evidence gives little support to this view. Of the three works in which it is preserved, two, the *Fagrskinna* and the *Flateyjarbók*, attribute it to Thjóðólfr. It is only in Snorri's *Heimskringla* that Hornklofi is given as the author; and Snorri himself in the *Prose Edda* (*Gylfaginning*, ch. 2) quotes one of the strophes as by Thjóðólfr. The chief argument for believing that the two poems were originally one is that the opening of the *Hrafnsmál* leads one to expect the description of a battle, though what is actually preserved deals in the main with the king's life in times of peace. The poem may originally have contained some account of a battle or of Harold's prowess in warfare; but it does not necessarily follow that this was the piece on the battle of Hafsford, even if the latter is Hornklofi's work¹.

It has indeed been urged² that King Harold's wars, with the exception of the battle of Hafsford, are treated in the *Glymdrápa*, and that this battle was omitted here because it had already been celebrated in the earlier poem: it was not the custom for Norse poets to deal with the same incident on more than one occasion. But no one doubts that the *Glymdrápa*, as we have it, is incomplete; we cannot tell what it contained originally. It is quoted in the *Heimskringla* in connection with the two battles at Sólskel and with Harold's adventures in Götaland; but the *Fagrskinna* gives it in connection with the battle of Hafsford. In point of fact the references to naval battles—especially in Norway—which it contains are scarcely of such a character as to enable us to identify them with certainty. Again it seems

¹ Finnur Jónsson urges (*Den Oldnorske og Oldislandske Litteraturs Historie*, Copenhagen, 1894, Vol. 1, p. 432) that 'it is exceedingly improbable that Thorbjörn should have composed two poems, both in the same metre (*Málahátttr*), and both in the same (dialogue) form, between the same characters'; but there is nothing to show that the same characters (i.e. the raven and the valkyrie) are involved here; and the opening word (*heyrdi* or *hæyrðu*) is scarcely sufficient to show that the poem was in dialogue form at all.

² Finnur Jónsson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 430.

to me that the amount of historical poetry of this period which has come down to us is scarcely sufficient to prove that the poets never dealt with the same events on more than one occasion. Negative evidence should I think be used with special caution, more especially when we are considering a poem like the *Glymdrápa* which is in the nature of a retrospect covering the events of a number of years. And lastly, I cannot help thinking that it is a somewhat strange assumption that a poet who was in Harold's service for some twenty or thirty years, as is believed¹, should have composed only two poems in honour of the king during the whole of that period.

I do not mean of course to deny the possibility that the two pieces given here belonged to the same poem. But I think that the reasons hitherto given for combining them are insufficient. The author of the *Fagrskinna* had clearly no suspicion that the two poems were connected. The *Hrafnsmál* is quoted in full under Hornklofi's name ('as the poet Hornklofi says' etc.) on p. 6 ff., some time before the mention of the battle at Hafsford. When this battle comes to be mentioned the poem on it is introduced with the words 'As the poet Thjóðólfr of Hvín says.' At the end the writer adds: 'Hornklofi speaks of this battle as follows,' and with that he goes on to quote the *Glymdrápa*. It seems to me preferable therefore to give the two poems separately and let the reader form his own opinion as to their relationship.

The text of the poem as given below is based on the paper copies of MS. B as printed by Finnur Jónsson in his edition of the *Fagrskinna* (Copenhagen, 1902-3). The readings of the surviving copies of A have sometimes been adopted in preference however, and the principal variant readings of all these paper MSS. (A 1-2, B 1-2) have been indicated in footnotes. Where A 1-2 and B 1-2 are in agreement respectively the letters A, B have been used without figures.

¹ For the date of the *Glymdrápa*, cf. F. Jónsson, *Den Oldn. og Oldisl. Litt. Hist.* Vol. I, p. 429 f.

THE HRAFN SMÁL

- 1 Hlýði hringberendr meðan ec frá Harallde sægi¹
 odda² íþróttar³ enom avarauðgha⁴;
 frá málom man ec sægja þæim er ek mœy hœyrða
 hvíta haddbjarta er við hramn dæmde⁵.
- 2 Vitr⁶ þóttez valkyrja; verar né váro
 þækkir feimo⁷ enni framleito er fuglsródd kunni.
 Cvadde en kværkhvíta oc en glægghvarma⁸
 Hýmiss hausrœyti⁹ er sat á horne¹⁰ vinbjarga¹¹.
- 3 'Hvat er yðr, hramnar, hvaðan erop ér comner
 með dræyrgru nefi at degi anndværðum?
 Holld loðer yðr í klóm, hræs þæfr gjængr¹² ór muni;
 nær hygg ec yðr¹³ í nótt bjoggu¹⁴ því er vissuð¹⁵ at
 náer¹⁶ liggja.'
- 4 Rœyfðizk hinn hösfjaðri oc um hyrnu þerði,
 arnar¹⁷ æiðbróðer, oc at annsvörum hugði:
 'Harallde vér fylgðum, syni Halfðanar,
 ungum Ynglingi¹⁸, síðan ór æggi cómom.
- 5 Kunna hugða ec¹⁹ þic konong myndu þann er²⁰ á Kvin-
 num²¹ býr,
 dróttenn Norðmanna. Djúpum ræðr hann kjólom,
 roðnum röndum, rauðum²² skjöldum,
 tjörghaðom²³ árom, tjöldum drifnum²⁴.
- 6 Úti vill jól drecca ef scal æinn ráða
 fylkir enn framlyndi, oc Frœys læik hæfja²⁵.
 Ungr læiddiz elldvelli²⁶ oc inni sitja²⁷,
 varma dyngju eða vattu dúnfulla²⁸.'

¹ ec...sægi B; seggi ec A.² oddi A.³ íþrottir A.⁴ hinum avarauðgha A; enom harfagra B.⁵ rædde A.⁶ Vig B.⁷ em. von Friesen; þækkir suamo enne framsóttu B; þækkirren (-rfen A 2) nonn hinni framleito A so v. Friesen; -ren (-rfen A 2) no hinni F. Jónsson.⁸ glæg- A; glægga arma B.⁹ A, A 1;

so also Arni Magnússon's correction in B 1-2; roya A 2; ræya B.

¹⁰ hormum A.¹¹ B; bjarga A.¹² gjængr yðr A.¹³ yðr om. A.¹⁴ B; bjugguð A.¹⁵ vissu B.¹⁶ nær B; nær B 1-2, A.¹⁷ A; annar B.¹⁸ eðlingi A.¹⁹ om. B.²⁰ þannz A.²¹ kynnum A.²² oc r. A.²³ tjorgum B.²⁴ oc drifnum skjöldum A.²⁵ hevja A; heyja A 1; H, F.²⁶ -pelli B; -visi F.²⁷ at sitja A, H, F.²⁸ -fula B.

THE HRAFNSMÁL

- 1 Hearken, noblemen, while I celebrate Harold the magnificent and his feats of arms. I will tell of the words which I heard spoken by a maiden fair and golden haired as she held converse with a raven.

- 2 The valkyrie prided herself on her wisdom;—and the warlike maid took no pleasure in men, for she knew the language of birds. With white throat and sparkling eyes she greeted the skull picker of Hýmíř as he sat on a jutting ledge of rock.

- 3 ‘How is it with you, ye ravens? Whence are ye come with bloody beak at the dawning of day? Torn flesh is hanging from your talons, and a reek of carrion comes from your mouths. I doubt not that ye have passed the night amid a scene of carnage.’

- 4 The sworn brother of the eagle shook his dusky plumage, wiped his beak, and thought upon his answer:
 ‘We have followed Harold, the son of Halfdan, the youthful scion of Yngvi, ever since we came out of the egg.

- 5 ‘I thought that thou wouldst know the king who dwells at Kvinnar, the lord of the Northmen. He has under his command deep ships with their reddened stripes and crimson shields, tarred oars and foam-besprinkled awnings.

- 6 ‘If he shall have his own desire the resolute-hearted prince will drink his Yule at sea and play the game of Freyr. Even in his youth he showed no inclination for the fireside and indoor life, the warm bower or pillows stuffed with down.’

7 'Hversso er hann¹ fégjaval² þeim er folld værja,
ítra ógnflýtr við íþróttarmenn sína?'³

8 'Mjok ero rœyfðir rógbirtingar,
þeir er í Harallz túni húnum værpa;
í fé ero þeir gœddir⁴ oc fagrur mæcom⁵,
malme Húnlenskum oc mane austreno.

9 Þá ero þeir ræfir er vitu⁶ rómo væne,
örvir upp at hlaupa oc árar at svægja⁷,
hömlur at brjóta en háe at slíta⁸,
ríkulega⁹ hygg ec þá vörru þœysa at vísa ráðe.'

10 'At skallda reiðo¹⁰ vil ec þic spyrja, allz þu þykkis skil
vita;
Greppa ferðir¹¹ þú mannt¹² görla kunna,
þeirra er með Haralldi hafaz.'

11 'Á gjærðum¹³ sér þeira oc á gullbaugum
at þeir ero í kunnlæicum við konong.
Felldum¹⁴ ráða þeir rauðum oc vel faghrrendaðom¹⁵,
sverðum silfrvöfðum, særkjum hringofnom,
gylltum annfetlum oc gröfnom¹⁶ hjalmum,
hringum handberom, er þeim Haralldr valde.'

12 'At bersærkja ræiðu vil ec spyrja¹⁷, bærgir hræsævar;
hversso er fenget¹⁸ þeim er í folk vaða,
vígðjörfum verom?'

13 'Ulfheðnar¹⁹ hæita, þeir er í orrostu²⁰
blóðgar rander bera;
vigrar rjóða er²¹ til vígs coma,
þeim er þar síst saman.
Áræðesmönnum æinum, hygg ec, þar undir felaz²²
skyli sá en skilvísi þeim er í skjölld höggva²³.'

¹ B 1-2; þat B; om. A. ² -gjafa B. ³ þess beðnir B. ⁴ mætum A 2.
⁵ vita B. ⁶ sveighja A. ⁷ om. at B. ⁸ ræiku- B. ⁹ ræðo B.

¹⁰ far er A. ¹¹ munt A.

¹² oc skjöldum A; oc skj- A 2.

¹³ grænum B.

¹⁴ þik spyrja A.

¹⁵ U; þeir A and om. after h.

¹⁶ orrostum A.

¹⁷ þa er A.

¹⁸ þas skatnar skilvísir i skjöld höggva F. M. S., Fl.

¹⁹ þar hæfa at standa F. M. S., Fl.

²⁰ þar hæfa at standa F. M. S., Fl.

²¹ þar hæfa at standa F. M. S., Fl.

²² þar hæfa at standa F. M. S., Fl.

²³ þar hæfa at standa F. M. S., Fl.

- 7 'What of the generosity which he shows to those who guard the land, the martial leader amid his splendid champions?'
- 8 'Very magnificent is the life enjoyed by the glorious champions who play chess in Harold's court. They are enriched with money and with splendid swords, with the metal of Húna-land and with girls from the East.
- 9 'Their spirits are high when they know that there is a prospect of battle. Eager are they to leap up and bend their oars, to break the oar loops and split the tholes, to churn up the waters with mighty strokes, as I can aver, at the command of their prince.'
- 10 'I should like to ask thee of the position of the poets, since thou hast confident knowledge: full well thou must know the troops of bards who dwell with Harold.'
- 11 'Their connection with the king is apparent from their apparel and their jewels. They possess cloaks of scarlet with magnificent borders, swords bound with silver, coats of woven mail, gilded baldricks and graven helmets, bracelets on their wrists—all of which have been bestowed on them by Harold.'
- 12 'I should like to ask thee of the position of the berserkir, thou taster of the carrion flood; what provision is made for the martial heroes who march to battle?'
- 13 'Wolf-coats are they called who bear bloody shields in battle. They redden their spears when they come to the fight, and then they act all in a body. I doubt not that it is only upon men of tried valour who fight without flinching that the wise king will rely on such occasions.'

14 'At læicarum oc trúðum¹ hæfi ec þic lít freget;
hværr er cergáti þæira Anndaðar
at húsum Harallz?'

15 'At hundi ælskar Anndaðr²— oc hæimsku drýgir—
cœyrnalausum, . oc jöfur hlægir.
Hinir ero oc aðrer er um ælld sculu
brennanda spón bera;
logandum húfum hafa³ ser undir⁴ linda drepet
hældræipir⁵ haler.'

¹ *trúþo* A.

² *om.* A 2.

³ *hafa þær* B 1-2.

⁴ *und* A.

⁵ *hel-* A.

14 'I have neglected to ask thee of the jesters and jugglers;
what cheer have Andaðr and the rest at Harold's court?'

15 'Andaðr fondles his earless dog and plays the fool and
makes the prince laugh. There are others too whose task
it is to carry burning chips through the fire. The skipping
fellows have their blazing hoods tucked under their belts.'

VIII. THE BATTLE OF HAFSFJORD

The subject of the following poem¹ is the Battle of Hafsford, the final and decisive action by which Harold the Fairhaired succeeded in establishing his power over the whole of Norway. Previously to this he had conquered the district of Trondhjem, and then in the two battles at Sólskel he had defeated and killed or expelled the kings of Møre (Møre), Raumsdalr (Romsdal), and the Firðir (i.e. the region round the Nordfjord). The whole of the coast down to and including the Sognefjord was now in his possession. The only kings who retained their independence were those of the south-west—Hörðaland, Rogaland, Agðir, and Thelamörk, corresponding approximately to the present provinces of South Bergenhuus and Christiansand, and these in alarm formed a confederacy against him. In 872 Harold proceeded from Trondhjem southwards, and encountered the allied forces in the Hafsford near Stavanger.

Several accounts of the battle have been preserved. Among these we may mention specially those contained in *Egils Saga*, ch. 9, and the *Saga of Harold the Fairhaired* (*Heimskringla*), ch. 18. According to the former there assembled 'a great host from inland and from the eastern districts, on the Bay,' led by Eric, King of Hörðaland, Sulki, King of Rogaland and Earl Sóti his brother, Kjötvi the Wealthy and Thórir Haklangr, both from Agðir², and others. *Egils Saga* gives a somewhat detailed account of the leading men who fought on King Harold's ship. In the prow were Thórólfr Kveldúlfsson, the poets Bárðr the White and Ölvir Hnúfa, and Eyvindr Lambi; and in the forecastle were Harold's twelve berserkir³. The

¹ For the question of the possible connection of this poem with the *Hrafnsmál*, cf. the introduction to that poem, p. 79 ff. above.

² There appears to be a discrepancy between *Egils Saga* and the *Heimskringla*. In the former Thórir is called King of Agðir, while Kjötvi's position is not specified. In the *Heimskringla* Kjötvi is called king and Thórir is said to be his son.

³ Cf. also the *Saga of Harold the Fairhaired* (*Heimskringla*), ch. 9.

account given in the *Heimskringla* is evidently derived very largely from the poem. Thus it is stated that the fleets met off Jaðarr in Hafs fjord. Harold was victorious, and the leaders of the allies were killed except Kjötvi, who fled to an island, 'using it as a shield.' The host was scattered, some escaping by ship, others 'inland through Jaðarr.' The subjects of the different kings submitted to Harold after the battle, and his power was now established over the whole of Norway.

The question of the date of the poem is to some extent bound up with the question as to the relationship between it and the *Hrafnsmál*. The reference to Útsteinn in strophe 3 might seem to suggest that it was composed some time after the battle, since this place is mentioned as one of Harold's favourite residences in his later years¹, and it could hardly have come into his possession before the conquest of Hörðaland and Rogaland. But the five strophes by themselves convey the impression of a song of victory, like the poem on the battle of Brunanburh, and it may be that Harold had taken up his quarters temporarily at Útsteinn after the battle. If the place had previously been a residence of the kings of Rogaland this would be natural enough, and the references in the poem would then gain in significance.

The poem on the battle is preserved in several different works—the *Fagrskinna*, pp. 16—18, the *Flateyjarbók*, Vol. I, p. 574 (together with *Forn-Manna Sögur*, x, p. 190 ff.) and the *Heimskringla*, *Saga of Harold the Fairhaired*, ch. 18 (including the *Codex Frisianus*², p. 48). In the *Fagrskinna* and the *Flateyjarbók* it is attributed to Thjóðólfr of Hvin, in the *Heimskringla* to Thorbjörn Hornklofi. Strophe 5 is also found in *Gylfaginning*, ch. 2. The text given below is based in the main on *Kringla* (cf. p. 73 above), but the chief variations in the readings of the MSS. have been pointed out in the notes below.

¹ *Saga of Harold the Fairhaired (Heimskringla)*, ch. 37. Cf. also Howorth, *Saga Book of the Viking Club*, Vol. ix, p. 172, with reference to G. Storm's paper on the battle of Hafs fjord.

² Ed. C. R. Unger, Christiania, 1871.

THE BATTLE OF HAFSFIJORD

- 1 Heyrðu¹ í Hafsfirði hvé hizug² barðisk
 konungr enn kynstóri³ við Kjötva enn auðlagða⁴;
 knerrir kómu austan, kaps⁵ um lystir⁶
 með gínöndum höfðum ok gröfnum tingham.
- 2 Hlaðnir váru⁷ hölða ok hvíttra skjalda⁸,
 vigra vestrænna ok Valskra sverða;
 grenjuðu berserkir, guðr vas⁹ þeim á sinnum,
 emjuðu ulfheðnar ok ísörn dúðu¹⁰.
- 3 Freistuðu ens framráða es þeim flýja¹¹ kendi,
 allvalds¹² austmanna, es býr at Útsteini;
 stóðum¹³ Nökkva brá stillir¹⁴, es hánun vas styrjar
 væni¹⁵;
 hlömmun vas á hlífum, áðr Haklangr felli.
- 4 Leiddisk þá fyr Lúfu landi at halda
 hilmi enum halsdigra; holm lét sér at skjaldi.
 Slógusk und¹⁶ sessþiljur¹⁷ es sárir váru,
 létu upp stjölu stúpa¹⁸, stungu í kjöl höfðum.
- 5 Á baki létu blíkja— barðir váru grjóti—
 Sváfnis¹⁹ salnæfrar seggir hyggjandi—
 cestusk austr kylfur²⁰— ok um Jaðar hljópu²¹
 heim ór Hafsfirði, ok hugðu á mjöðdrykkju.

¹ *hæyrðu* A, B; *heyrdi* Fl.; *heyrdir þu* H, F.² *hraustliga* Fl.³ F, H, A (-e); *kynstor* B; *kostsami* J 1.⁴ A, B, H; *auðga* F.⁵ *haps* J 1 (J 2).⁶ *fulldr* J (-ir J 2).⁷ v. *þeir* K, J 1, A, B, Fl.⁸ *hvítum skjöldum* Fl.⁹ K, J 1, A; (*grunr* v. *þ.*) B; *v(ar)þ* F; g. es *þeim hlífði* Fl.¹⁰ J 1; *glumðo* K; *gullu* F; *isar iarn* (om. B) *dúðu* A, B; *isarn bitu* Fl.¹¹ *fylgja* F.¹² F, A, B; -*vast* J 1, 2; -*valldr* K.¹³ em. F. Jónsson; *stöðom* K; *stöðum* J; *stauðom* F; *stöðu nokkvar* Fl.¹⁴ H, A, B, F; *steindir* Fl.¹⁵ H, F, A, B; h. v. s. *vanz* B; er stillir átti enn styrjar nenni Fl.¹⁶ F, A; *undir* K, J 1, B.¹⁷ *sess um þiljur* Fl.¹⁸ *stufa* J 1; *standa* Fl.¹⁹ B; *svafns* A; *svaulnis* F; *svolnis* Ups.²⁰ J 1 (-*kylfr* J 2); *austkylpor* K; *auðkylfor* F; *austr* Fl. (om. k.).²¹ *Jaðarbyggðir* Fl. (om. ok).

THE BATTLE OF HAFSJORD

- 1 Hearken how the king of noble lineage fought yonder in Hafsfjord against Kjötvi the wealthy. A fleet came from the east, with gaping figure-heads and carved beaks—impelled by desire for battle.
- 2 They were laden with warriors and white shields, with spears from the West and swords from France. The berserks were howling, the 'wolf-coats' were yelling, and swords were clashing: their warfare was in full swing.
- 3 They made trial of the resolute monarch of the men of the east, who dwells at Útsteinn.—He pointed them the road to flight. The king brought out his ocean steeds when he had a prospect of battle. There was a clashing of shields ere Haklangr fell.
- 4 Then the thick-necked chief showed no inclination to maintain his land against the Shock-head. He used the island as a shield. Those who were wounded thrust themselves under the benches, arching their backs and pushing their heads down into the keel.
- 5 The prudent warriors took care to cover their backs with glittering shields—the shingles of Othin's hall—as they were pelted with stones. Their prows were in headlong flight towards the east, and homewards from Hafsfjord they fled by way of Jaðarr, with their minds set on the mead cups.

IX. THE EIRÍKSMÁL

Harold the Fairhaired is said to have resigned the throne when he was eighty years of age (i.e. about the year 930) to his son Eric (*Eiríkr Blóð-öx*)¹. The new king was not popular, and in the year after Harold's death (934) a rival claimant to the throne appeared in the person of Haakon, one of Harold's youngest sons (cf. p. 101). In the following year Eric had to leave the country. He is said to have first made his way to the Orkneys, where he received a friendly reception from the sons of Torf Einnarr. After this, according to all Norse authorities, he was placed by Aethelstan in charge of the Northumbrian kingdom, and fixed his residence at York². Under Aethelstan's successor, Edmund, he was displaced by a rival named Olaf and took to harrying the neighbouring lands. Eventually he was killed in battle against Olaf, and with him there fell two of Torf Einnarr's sons and five other princes³.

The Norse tradition regarding the life of Eric after his departure from Norway is not entirely to be trusted. English records know nothing of his presence in Northumbria under Aethelstan, though as the annals of the time are very meagre, their silence is not conclusive. What the English authorities make clear, however, is that Eric became king of Northumbria, apparently on two separate occasions, during the reign of Eadred (not Edmund)⁴. He was twice expelled by Eadred, and it would seem that in the interval the Northumbrians were governed by Olaf Cuaran, King of Dublin. For what happened after Eric's second expulsion we have no contemporary authority, and the exact date is uncertain. Symeon of Durham says⁵ that Eiricus, the last king of North-

¹ Cf. the *Saga of Harold the Fairhaired* (*Heimskringla*), ch. 41.

² Cf. the *Egils Saga*, ch. 59; the *Saga of Haakon the Good* (*Heimskringla*), ch. 3; *Fagrskinna*, ch. 6.

³ Cf. the *Saga of Haakon the Good* (*Heimskringla*), ch. 4.

⁴ Cf. Saxon Chronicle, *sub ann.* 948, 954 D; 952, 954 E.

⁵ *Historia Regum* (Rolls Series), Vol. II, § 159.

umbria, was driven out and killed by Maccus, the son of Anlaf. Thereupon the Northumbrians submitted to King Eadred who gave the province to Earl Osulf. Matthew Paris, who wrote three hundred years after these events, but who evidently had access to authorities now lost, states¹ that King Eilricus was treacherously slain, with his son Haericus and his brother Reginaldus, in a desert called Steinmor, by the 'Consul' Maco, through treachery on the part of Earl Osulf.

The Anlaf mentioned by Symeon of Durham is doubtless the Olaf who is said in the Norse authorities to have killed Eric, and we have no reason for doubting that he was the famous Olaf Cuaran². But the affair in which Eric lost his life would seem to have been an ambush rather than a battle. Perhaps on resigning the throne he had been given a safe-conduct by Earl Osulf of Bamborough, who had subsequently betrayed him to his enemy. The scene of the massacre was evidently on the Roman road from York to Carlisle, not far from Kirkby Stephen. It may be observed that though the English authorities give no hint of a real battle, they confirm in two cases the evidence of the sagas as to the persons killed³.

In the *Fagrskinna*, ch. 7, it is stated that the poem which follows was composed at the request of Queen Gunnhildr, Eric's widow, who retired to the Orkneys and resided there for some time after Eric's death⁴. Subsequently the Queen with her sons made her way to Denmark, where they received protection from Harold Blue-tooth, and whence they made frequent attempts to wrest the kingdom of Norway from Haakon.

The poem is obviously incomplete. Of the author nothing is known, though we may doubtless assume that he was one of Eric's followers. It may have been composed in Orkney shortly after the news of the disaster became known; at all events it can hardly be many years later, since Eyvindr Finnsson's *Hákonarmál* (cf. p. 104 ff. below) is evidently modelled on it.

¹ *Chronica Majora* (Rolls Series), Vol. I, *sub ann.* 950.

² Cf. p. 62 ff. above.

³ I.e. Hárekr and Rögnvaldr. Cf. the *Saga of Haakon the Good* (*Heimskringla*), ch. 4.

⁴ *Ib.* ch. 5.

Finnur Jónsson has pointed out¹ that the author was familiar with the diction of the *Edda* poems. Cf. str. 6³ with *Völuspá*, str. 41²; str. 6² with *Hávamál*, str. 1⁴, 38³, *Fáfnismál*, str. 24¹; str. 7³ with *Hárbarðsljóð*, str. 9⁵, *Vafþrúðnismál*, str. 3³. The metre of the poem is the *Ljóðaháttir* except in str. 1, which is in the *Málaháttir*.

With the exception of strophes 1 and 2 this poem is preserved only in the *Fagrskinna*² (cf. pp. 73 ff. and 81, above), and indeed only in those MSS. which are derived from the later of the two vellums (A). In the MSS. derived from B there is a lacuna at this point. The first five lines are preserved also in the *Skáldskaparmál*, ch. 2.

¹ *Den Oldnorske og Oldislandske Litteraturs Historie* (Copenhagen, 1894), Vol. I, p. 452.

² Ed. F. Jónsson (Copenhagen, 1902-3), pp. 28-30.

THE EIRÍKSMÁL

- 1 'Hvat er þat¹ drauma²,' qvað Óðenn, 'er ek³ hugðumk
firi dag lítlu⁴,
Valhöll riðja⁵ firi vegno folki?
Vacta ec einherja, bað ec uprísar
becki at strá, borðkær⁶ at lyðra,
valkyrjur vín bera, sem vísir come.
Er mér⁷ ór heimi höllda vánir
göfgra nöccora, svá er mér glatt hjarta.
- 2 'Hvat þrymr þar, Bragi, sem þúsund bivizt
eþa mænge til mikit?'
'Braka all beccþili sem muni Balldr coma
eptir í Óðins sale.'
- 3 'Heimsco mæla,' qvað Óðinn, 'scallt þu, hinn horski Bragi,
þó at þú væl hvat vitir.
Fyr Æiríki⁸ glymr, er hér mun inn koma
jöfurr í Óðinns sale.
- 4 'Sigmundr oc Sinfjatli, rísit snarlega,
oc gangit í gögn⁹ grame;
inn þú bjóð ef Æiríkr sé;
hans er mér nú vón vituð.'
- 5 'Hví er þér Æiríks vón,' kvað Sigmundr, 'hældr enn
annara kononga?'
'því at margu lannde,' sagðe Óðenn, 'hann hevir mæki
roðet,
oc blóðoct sværð borit.'
- 6 'Hví namt þu hann sigri þá er þér þótti hann snjallr
vera?'
'því at óvíst er at vita,' sagðe Óðenn,
'sér ulfr enn hösve á sjöt goða.'

¹ þet A 2.² dæma Cod. Sn. E 757.³ om. Cod. Sn. E 757.⁴ rísa Codd. Sn. E.⁵ riði A 2; a added above the line in A.⁶ Cod. Ups.; borkær A.⁷ me A 2. The r has been added later in A.⁸ em. Munch and Unger; Æiríkr ms.⁹ em. Munch and Unger; gongo A.

THE EIRÍKSMÁL

1 'What dream is this?' said Othin, 'a little before daylight I thought I was preparing Valhöll for a slain host. I was awakening the einherjar, and bidding them rise up and cover the benches and cleanse the beakers—I was bidding the Valkyries bring wine as if a prince was coming. I have hope of some noble heroes from the world; so my heart is glad.

2 'What uproar is that, Bragi, as if thousands were in motion—an exceeding great host approaching?'

'All the timbers of the benches are creaking as if Balder were coming back to Othin's abode.'

3 'Surely thou art talking folly, thou wise Bragi,' replied Othin, 'although thou knowest everything well. The noise betokens the approach of the hero Eric, who must be coming here into Othin's abode.

4 'Sigmundr and Sinfjötli! Arise quickly and go to meet the prince. If it be Eric, invite him in! I have now confident hope that it is he.'

5 'Why dost thou hope for Eric rather than for other kings?' asked Sigmundr.

'Because he has reddened his sword in many a land,' replied Othin, 'and carried a bloodstained blade.'

6 'Why hast thou robbed him of victory when thou knewest him to be valiant?'

'Because it cannot be clearly known,' replied Othin:—
'The grey wolf is gazing upon the abodes of the gods.'

7 'Hæill þú nú, Æiríkr,' kvað Sigmundr, 'væl scalt þú
hér kominn!

oc gack í höll, horscr!

Hins vil ec þic fregna: hvat fylgir þér
jöfra frá eggþrymu?

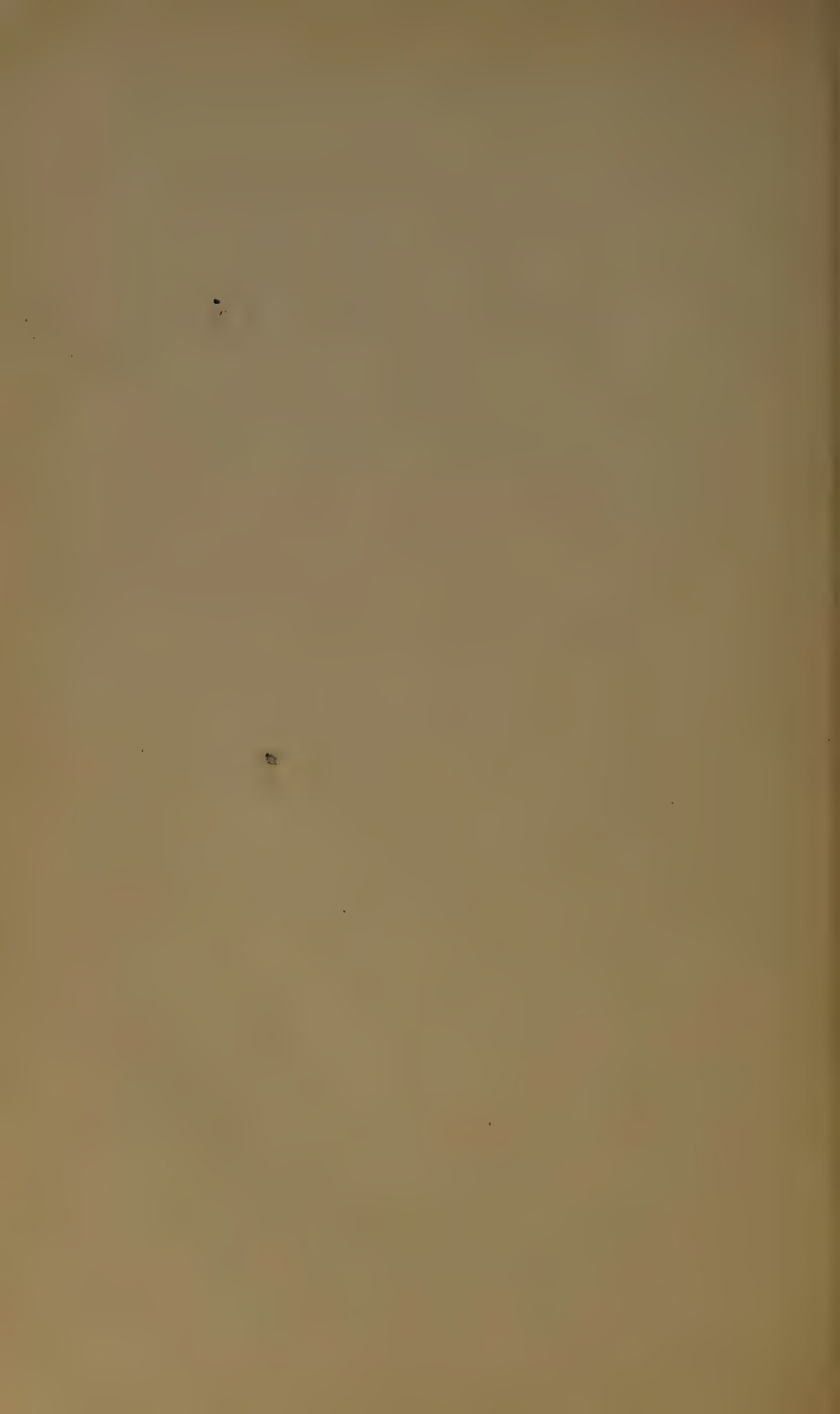
8 'Konongar eru v,' sagði Eiríkr, 'kænni ec þér nöfn¹
allra;

ec em hinn sétti sjalfr.'

¹ em. Munch and Unger; *namfn* A.

7 'Hail now to thee, Eric!' cried Sigmundr, 'Welcome shalt thou be here! Enter our hall, wise (prince)! One thing I would ask thee: What heroes attend thee from the roar of battle?'

8 'There are five kings (here),' said Eric, 'I will make known to thee the names of all. I am the sixth myself.'



X. THE HÁKONARMÁL

Haakon I, commonly called the Good, was one of the youngest, if not the youngest, of the sons of Harold the Fair-haired. The circumstances of his birth and death are curiously picturesque. He is said¹ to have been born on a rock (called 'Haakon's Rock'), on the shore where the ship, on which his mother was travelling to visit King Harold, was anchored for the night.

While still a child, Haakon was sent to England where he was brought up as a Christian by Aethelstan. Whatever may be thought of the details of the story as given in the *Saga of Harold the Fair-haired* (*Heimskringla*), ch. 39, there is no need to doubt the main fact. Harold's relations with Aethelstan are recorded also by William of Malmesbury².

In the year after his father's death (cf. p. 93 above), Haakon made his way to Norway, and, before twelve months had elapsed, succeeded in expelling his brother Eric (in 935). He reigned prosperously for over twenty-five years, and was an exceedingly popular king, though his efforts to introduce Christianity proved a failure. Towards the end of his reign, several attempts were made at conquest by the sons of Eric³. On the last occasion, as King Haakon was being entertained at Fitje in the Island of Storø (Stordö), news was brought that a mighty fleet was at hand. The king armed himself in his corselet, and girt himself with his sword Quernbiter; he put a gold helmet on his head, took up his shield and halberd, and proceeded to array his men. A fierce fight now took place.

'King Haakon was more easily recognised than other men and his helmet glittered when the sun shone on it. The fray was very fierce around him. Then Eyvindr Finnsson took a hood and drew it over the King's helmet, whereupon one of

¹ *Saga of Harold the Fair-haired* (*Heimskringla*), ch. 37.

² *Gesta Regum Anglorum* (Rolls Series), i, § 135.

³ Cf. the *Saga of Haakon the Good* (*Heimskringla*), ch. 19, 21 f., 28 f.

the enemy cried loudly: "Is the King of the Norwegians hiding, or has he fled? Where has his golden helmet vanished?"¹

Haakon's foes were routed, but the king received his death-wound in the battle. He set sail the same night for his house Alreksstaðir, but soon grew exhausted from loss of blood, and asked to be put ashore. He landed at 'Haakon's Rock,' and by a strange coincidence is said to have died on the spot on which he had been born².

According to the *Saga of Haakon the Good* (*Fagrskinna*), ch. 11, the Eyvindr Finnsson mentioned above 'made a poem on the death of King Haakon, and modelled it on that which Gunnhildr had had made for King Eric...and he relates in the poem many things which occurred in the battle.' The poem here referred to is the *Hákonarmál*. Eyvindr was a member of King Haakon's retinue, being indeed his grand-nephew, and a great-grandson of Harold the Fairhaired. He fought by Haakon's side throughout the battle at Fitje, and it is curious that he tells us so little in his poem of what actually took place. He was surnamed *Skáldaspillir*, 'the Plagiarist,' and there is rough justice in the nickname; for the *Hákonarmál* is in form obviously a close and frank imitation of the *Eiríksmál*, while his other chief poem, the *Háleyggjatal*, which has only come down to us in fragments, is just as evidently based on the *Ynglingatal* of Thjóðólfr of Hvin³.

Yet Eyvindr is no mechanical copier of other poets. There is a difference of tone between the *Eiríksmál* and the *Hákonarmál*; and though the former is incomplete, it is not likely that the *Hákonarmál* is indebted to it for its spirit of reflection and note of regret for the things that have passed away. Indeed it would seem that the poem is as much inspired by hostility to Harold Greycloak, Haakon's successor, as by loyalty to Haakon himself. Especially is this noticeable in the last four strophes of the poem. Strophe 18 reads like a direct challenge to Harold who, with his two brothers,

¹ *Saga of Haakon the Good* (*Heimskringla*), ch. 30, 31.

² *Ib.* ch. 32.

³ According to Ólrik (*The Heroic Legends of Denmark*, transl. L. M. Hollander, New York, 1919, pp. 111, 175 f. and pass.), the first part of the *Hákonarmál* (e.g. str. 5) contains reminiscences also of the *Bjarkamál*.

'broke open the sanctuaries, destroyed the images, and earned thereby great hatred¹.' Equally double-edged are strophes 19 and 20, while in strophe 21 Eyvindr applies the melancholy reflections of the *Hávamál* (str. 76 f.) to the famine and distress which prevailed in the land after Haakon's death.

There are moreover several points of detail in which the *Hákonarmál* differs from that portion of the *Eiríksmál* which has come down to us. In the latter it is Sigmundr who questions Othin as to why he has robbed Eric of victory. In the former the question is put by Haakon himself and strikes a querulous note.—'Surely we have deserved victory of the gods!' Further, in strophes 15—20 one is tempted to suspect that Haakon is entering Valhöll with some misgiving. He does not appear to trust the gods.—'We will keep our armour in our own possession... It is well to have one's gear to hand.' Finally, in strophe 21 Eyvindr's own dissatisfaction is clearly expressed. The *Eiríksmál* is a vivid picture of the triumphal entry of Eric into Valhöll. In the *Hákonarmál* the note of triumph is sounded in a minor key, and the reader is almost more conscious of the personality of Eyvindr than of Haakon himself.

Like the *Eiríksmál*, the *Hákonarmál* is composed in a combination of *Málaháttr* and *Ljóðaháttr*. The latter is used in strophes 1 and 2, and from strophe 9 (3) to the end of the poem, while the *Málaháttr* is used for the description of the battle in strophes 3—8.

The whole poem is preserved in the *Heimskringla* (K, J, F), and strophes 1—7 and 19—21 also in the *Fagrskinna* (cf. p. 73 above). The text given below is based in the main on *Kringla* (cf. p. 73 above) but the chief variations in reading are pointed out in the notes.

¹ Cf. the *Saga of Harold Greycloak* (*Heimskringla*), ch. 2.

THE HÁKONARMÁL

- 1 Göndul ok Skögul sendi Gautatýr
at kjósa um konunga,
hverr Yngva ættar skyldi með Óðni¹ fara
ok² í Valhöll³ at⁴ vesa.
- 2 Bróður fundu þær⁵ Bjarnar í⁶ brynju fara,
konung enn kostsama, kominn und⁷ gunnfana;
drúpðu dolgráar⁸, en darraðr⁹ hristisk,
upp vas þá hildir um hafið.
- 3 Hét á Háleygi¹⁰ sem¹¹ á Holmrygi¹²
jarla einbani¹³, fór til orrostu.
Gótt hafði enn gjöf¹⁴ gengi Norðmanna
œgir¹⁵ Eydana, stóð und¹⁶ árhjalmi¹⁷.
- 4 Hrauzk ór herváðum¹⁸, hratt¹⁹ á völl brynju
vísi²⁰ verðungar²¹, áðr²² til vígs tœki²³.
Lék við ljóðmögu²⁴, skyldi land verja
gramr²⁵ enn glaðværi; —stóð und²⁶ gullhjalmi²⁷.
- 5 Svá beit þá sverð ór²⁸ siklings hendi
váðir Váfaðar, sem í vatn²⁹ brygði.
Brökuðu broddar³⁰, brotnuðu skildir³¹,
glumruðu³² glymhringar³³ í gotna³⁴ hausum³⁵.
- 6 Tröddusk³⁶ törgur fyr Týs ok bauga³⁷
hjalta harðfótum hausar Norðmanna.
Róma varð í eyju, ruðu konungar³⁸
skírar³⁹ skjaldborgir í skatna blóði.
- ¹ *oþin* J (1). ² om. J (1), A, B. ³ -*hollu* J (1).
⁴ om. F. ⁵ K, A, B; *funno þr* J (1), J (2); *f. þ(ar)* F.
⁶ or F. ⁷ *undir* B, *unnd* A, *við* F.
⁸ em. F. Jónsson; *dólgrár* K; *dolgur* F; *dolgarar* J (1); *dolgar* A, B.
⁹ *darrar* J (1); *durr vorðr ristizk* B. ¹⁰ *Holmrygi* J (1).
¹¹ F, A, B; *sems* K. ¹² *Sá er her kallar* J (1). ¹³ -*dani* F.
¹⁴ F, J (1), A; *gofgi* K, B. ¹⁵ A; *œyger* B; *œgir* F; *egir* J (1); *eyðir* K.
¹⁶ *undir* A, B. ¹⁷ *gull*-F; *haom*-B. ¹⁸ *herfotum* B. ¹⁹ *rett* A.
²⁰ K, J (2), A; *vis* J (1); *visir* B. ²¹ *varðungar* A; *værðunga* B.
²² *aðr en* B. ²³ *tækiz* K. ²⁴ -*mangu* B, A, A (2); *mangu* A (1).
²⁵ *gram* K; *gylfi* Skáldskap. ch. 64. ²⁶ A; *undir* B.
²⁷ *Lék...gullhjalmi* occurs also in *Skáldskaparmál*, ch. 64. ²⁸ *í* B.
²⁹ *vatn of* F. ³⁰ *brykudo óðd(ar)* J (1); *brakaðu* b. A, B.
³¹ *skill(ir)* F. ³² *glauvroðo* F; *glumðraðu* B; *glumðu* A.
³³ K, F; *gylfringa* J (1); -*gar* A, B. ³⁴ *iotna* J (1). ³⁵ *haustum* B.
³⁶ *Trauðaðu* A, B. ³⁷ *við tyss of (tyssin A) valde* A, B.
³⁸ *fírar margir* F. ³⁹ *skíra* B.

THE HÁKONARMÁL

- 1 Göndul and Skögul were sent by Gautatýr to choose a king of Yngvi's race, who should go to join Othin and dwell in Valhöll.
- 2 They found Björn's brother arraying himself in coat of mail; the noble king was stationed beneath his standard. Deadly shafts were descending and the dart was quivering. The battle had now begun.
- 3 He called on the men of Hálogaland and likewise upon them of Rogaland, he who had dealt slaughter to earls, as he marched to battle. A brave force of Northmen had the generous prince.—In helmet of bronze he stood, a terror to the Danes.
- 4 Leading his chosen band he cast off his raiment of battle, flung his mail-coat to the ground before he began to fight. In helmet glittering with gold the joyous prince stood and sported with the sons of the host. His part it was to guard the land.
- 5 Then did the sword in the hero's hand pierce Váföör's garments as if it had been whisked through water. Spear-heads were shattered and shields rent. The resounding steel clashed on the skulls of warriors.
- 6 Targets and skulls were crushed by the blade of the generous ruler of the Northmen. A tumult arose in the island as the king reddened the bright serried shields with the blood of warriors.

- 7 Brunnu beneldar í¹ blóðgum undum,
 lutu² langbarðar at lýða fjörvi,
 svarraði sárgymir³ á sverða nesi,
 fell flóð fleina í fjöru Storðar⁴.
- 8 Blendusk⁵ við roðnum⁶ und randar himni
 Sköglar veðr, léku við ský⁷ um bauga;
 umðu oddlár í Óðins veðri,
 hné mart manna fyr mækis straumi.
- 9 Sátu þá döglingar með sverð um togin,
 með skarða skjöldu ok skotnar⁸ brynjur;
 vasa sá herr í hugum ok⁹ átti
 til Valhallar vega.
- 10 Göndul þat mælti— studdisk geirs skapti.—
 ‘Vex nú gengi goða,
 es Hákon¹⁰ hafa með her mikinn
 heim bönd¹¹ um boðit.’
- 11 Vísi þat heyrði hvat valkyrjur mæltu
 mærar af¹² mars baki;
 hyggiliga létu ok hjalmaðar sátu¹³
 ok höfðusk hlífar fyrir.
- 12 ‘Hví þú svá gunni,’ kvað Hákon, ‘skiptir, Geirskögul¹⁴ ?
 Várum þó verðir gagns frá goðum.’
 ‘Vér því völdum,’ kvað Skögul, ‘at þú velli helt¹⁵
 en þínir fiandr¹⁶ flugu.’
- 13 ‘Ríða vit nú skulum,’ kvað en ríkja Skögul,
 ‘grænna¹⁷ heima goða,
 Óðni at segja at nú¹⁸ mun allvaldr koma
 á¹⁹ hann sjalfan²⁰ at sea.’
- ¹ F and J (1) omit this strophe from *í blóðgum...Storðar*. ² *bitu* A.
³ -gymis A; *svarraðe siorgymner* B.
⁴ Strophes 8—18 are omitted in the *Fagrskinna*.
⁵ F. omits this strophe; J (1) omits *við...straumi*.
⁶ em. Munch and Unger; *roðnar* K. ⁷ em. Munch and Unger; *skys* K.
⁸ *skorn(ar)* F. ⁹ F; *er* K. ¹⁰ *hakon* F. ¹¹ *böndr* F.
¹² *a* J (1). ¹³ *satu* J (1); *stoðo* K, F. ¹⁴ *i gær* J (1).
¹⁵ em. F. Jónsson; *hellz* K, F; *hellzt* J (1). ¹⁶ *fiandm(enn)* F.
¹⁷ em. Munch and Unger; *gróna* K, F; *gróna* J (1).
¹⁸ F; *her* K. ¹⁹ F; *ok* K. ²⁰ K, F; *sialfr* J (1).

- 7 The swords raged like blazing fire in bloody wounds. The halberds stooped to draw the life of men. The blood gushed forth upon the swords like the sea breaking upon a headland; a torrent of gore was shed upon the shores of Storth.
- 8 Skögun's gales raged in confusion beneath the reddened canopy of the shield, her clouds rolled around the bucklers. The waves of blood roared in Othin's gale, and hosts were overthrown by the tide of gore.
- 9 Now the prince was sitting with sword drawn, with shield cleft and mail-coat pierced; in no cheerful mood was the host which was making its way to Valhöll.
- 10 Then said Göndul as she leaned upon the shaft of her spear: 'Now will the forces of the gods be increased, since they have summoned Haakon with a great host to the divine abodes.'
- 11 The prince heard what the noble valkyries were saying. Thoughtful was their mien as they sat on their steeds, with helmets upon their heads, holding their shields before them.
- 12 'Why hast thou thus decided the battle, Geirskögun?' asked Haakon; 'Surely we have deserved victory of the gods!' 'We have brought it about that thou hast won the day,' replied Skögun, 'and that thy foes have fled.'
- 13 'Now must we both ride,' said the mighty Skögun, 'to the green homes of the gods, to tell Othin that a monarch is coming to enter his presence.'

- 14 'Hermóðr ok Bragi,' kvað Hroptatýr,
 'gangið i gögn grami,
 þvíat¹ konungr ferr, sás kappi þykkir,
 til hallar hinig.'
- 15 Ræsir þat mælti— vas frá rómu kominn,
 stóð allr í dreyra drifinn:—
 'Íllúðigr mjök² þykkir oss³ Óðinn vesa,
 sjám⁴ vér hans um hugi.'
- 16 'Einherja⁵ grið skalt þú allra hafa,
 þigg þú at Ásum öl.
 Jarla bági, þú átt inni hér
 átta bræðr,' kvað Bragi.
- 17 'Gerðar vórar,' kvað enn góði konungr,
 'viljum vér sjalfir⁶ hafa;
 hjalm ok brynju skal hirða vel,
 gótt es til görs⁷ at taka.'
- 18 Þá þat kyndisk, hvé sá konungr hafði
 vel um þyrmt véum,
 es Hákon báðu heilan koma
 ráð öll ok regin.
- 19 Góðu dægri verðr sá gramr um borinn,
 es sér getr slíkan sefa;
 hans aldar mun æ vesa
 at góðu getit.
- 20 Mun óbundinn á ýta sjöt
 Fenrisulfr um⁸ fara,
 áðr jafngóðr á auða tröð
 konungmaðr⁹ komi.
- 21 Deyr fé, deyja frændr,
 eyðisk land ok lád;
 síz¹⁰ Hákon fór¹¹ með heiðin goð,
 mörg es þjóð um þjáð.

¹ K, J (1); *alls* F. ² *os* F. ³ *om.* F. ⁴ K, J (1); *sía* F. ⁵ *Enhveria* J (1).

⁶ *sialfr* J (1). ⁷ *gors* K; *geyrs* F, J (1). ⁸ *of* F; *om.* K, J (1).

⁹ K, F; *konungr* J (1). ¹⁰ *sízt* K, J (1); *siti* F. ¹¹ J; *om.* K, F.

- 14 'Hermóðr and Bragi,' said Hroptatýr, 'go ye to meet the prince; for there is coming to our hall a king who has proved himself a hero.'
- 15 Then spake the prince who had come from the tumult, and stood all drenched with blood.—'Othin has shown himself very hostile towards us. We are afraid of his displeasure.'
- 16 'No harm shalt thou get from any of the Einherjar,' said Bragi; 'Accept ale from the Æsir! Foe of Earls, thou hast eight brothers in our abode.'
- 17 'We will keep our armour in our own possession,' said the brave king; 'helm and mail-coat must be well guarded. It is well to have one's gear to hand.'
- 18 Then it was made manifest, when all the divine council bade Haakon welcome, how that king had dealt reverently with the sanctuaries.
- 19 A prince who gains for himself such a character is born under a happy star; his life will ever be held in good report.
- 20 The wolf of Fenrir will be let loose upon the homes of men before so good a prince shall succeed to his vacant place.
- 21 Cattle are dying, kinsfolk are dying, land and realm are laid waste, and many people have been reduced to bondage since Haakon passed away to the heathen gods.

XI. THE DARRAÐARLJÓÐ

This poem is preserved in the *Njáls Saga*, ch. 157. It follows immediately on the account of the battle of Clontarf¹, which was fought on Good Friday, 1014, between Brian Borumh, the high-king of Ireland, and Sigurðr, Earl of Orkney.

The accounts of the battle preserved in Norse and Irish literature are singularly full and interesting². According to the *Njáls Saga* (ch. 154) the battle had its origin in the desire of Kormlóð, the mother of Sigtryggr Silken-beard, King of Dublin, to be avenged on Brian Borumh, to whom she had formerly been married. To accomplish this end, she sent her son to Sigurðr, Earl of Orkney, and to Bróðir, a Viking chief coasting off the Isle of Man, bidding him offer any terms to gain their assistance. Taking her at her word Sigtryggr promised his mother in marriage to each of them without informing the other, and thus obtained their aid. There is no reason for questioning the truth of this story; but it is to be noted that according to Irish authorities it was Brian who took the offensive, and an attack was no doubt expected from him.

The Irish forces came up on Palm Sunday, but the battle did not take place till the Friday. According to *Njáls Saga*, ch. 157, this was because Bróðir had ascertained by witchcraft that if they fought on Good Friday King Brian would fall but gain the victory; but if they fought before that day the battle would prove fatal to all who were against him³. According to the Irish accounts⁴ the two armies met on the morning of Good Friday and the battle opened with a single combat.

¹ The Story of the Irish War contained in ch. 154 ff. is connected only in the loosest way with the rest of the saga, and is believed to have been taken from a lost *Brjáns Saga* which was used also in *Thorsteins Saga Siðuhallssonar* (cf. F. Jónsson's ed. of *Brennu-Njáls saga* (Halle, 1908), pp. xxx ff.). Thorsteinn, son of Hallr á Siðu, is said to have been present at the battle together with Hrafn the Red, and it is possible that the story of the battle was derived ultimately from them.

² Cf. *Njáls Saga*, ch. 156, 157; *Thorsteins Saga Siðuhallssonar*, ch. 2; *Orkneyinga Saga*, ch. 13, etc.; *War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill* (Rolls Series), p. 151 ff.; *Annals of Loch Cé* (Rolls Series), p. 3 ff., etc.

³ Cf. however the *War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*, p. 157. There is nothing irreconcilable in the two accounts.

⁴ *War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*, p. 176 ff.

Plait, son of the King of 'Lochlainn,' and 'a brave champion of the foreigners' (i.e. the Norsemen), had challenged Domhnall, a warrior on Brian's side, the night before the battle; and now he stepped forward in front of the Irish host crying threetimes "Faraṣ Domhnall?" (*Hvar es*, 'where is,' Domhnall?) Domhnall answered and said "Sund, a snithing" (Here, O *níðingr*, 'wretch')!

'They fought then, and each of them endeavoured to slaughter the other; and they fell by each other, and the way that they fell was, with the sword of each through the heart of the other; and the hair of each in the clinched hands of the other. And the combat of that pair was the first [of the battle].'

Then the hosts came together and a tremendous fight took place, lasting from sunrise to sunset, from tide to tide¹.

'And each party of them remembered their ancient animosities towards each other, and each party of them attacked the other. And it will be one of the wonders of the day of judgment to relate the description of this tremendous onset²...It appeared to the people of Ath Cliath (Dublin) who were watching them from their battlements, that not more numerous would be the sheaves floating over a great company reaping a field of oats; even though two or three battalions were working at it, than the hair flying with the wind from them, cut away by the heavy gleaming axes, and by bright flaming swords. Whereupon the son of Amhlaibh (i.e. King Sigtryggr), who was on the battlements of his tower, watching them said: "Well do the foreigners reap the field," said he; "Many is the sheaf they let go from them³".'

The Irish annalist continues in words which recall passages of the *Darraðarljóð* (strophes 1, 9):

'There was a field, and a ditch, between us and them, and the sharp wind of the spring coming over them towards us; and it was not longer than the time that a cow could be milked, or two cows, that we continued there, when not one person of the two hosts could recognize another...we were so

¹ *War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*, p. 191.

² *Ib.*, p. 175.

³ *Ib.*, p. 191.

covered, as well our heads as our faces, and our clothes, with the drops of gory blood, carried by the force of the sharp cold wind which passed over them to us. And even if we attempted to perform any deed of valour we were unable to do it, because our spears over our heads had become clogged and bound with long locks of hair, which the wind forced upon us, when cut away by well-aimed swords, and gleaming axes; so that it was half occupation to us to endeavour to disentangle, and cast them off. And it is one of the problems of Erin, whether the valour of those who sustained that crushing assault was greater than ours who bore the sight of it without running distracted before the winds or fainting¹.

There fell Earl Sigurðr of Orkney defending the famous raven banner², and there fell Murchadh, eldest son of King Brian, and a countless host of men on either hand.

According to *Njáls Saga* King Sigtryggr commanded one wing of the host; but the Irish annals are unanimous in declaring that he watched the battle with his wife from the fortifications of Dublin, and this is no doubt correct. Even his troops were apparently not engaged; for the Irish are said to have forborne from attacking Dublin through fear that Sigtryggr's men would come out and attack them³.

According to the Irish chronicle⁴ King Brian was kneeling on a cushion with his psalter, 'for he would not fight on a holy day⁵.' His end is told with characteristic picturesqueness by the Irish annalist. After a watch kept by Brian's attendant which vividly recalls the watch kept by Sister Anne in the Bluebeard story, Bróðir was seen approaching with two attendants.

'One of the three who were there, and who had been in Brian's service, said "Cing, cing," said he, "this is the king." "No, no, but priest, priest," said Bróðir. "It is not he but a noble priest." "By no means," said the soldier, "that is the

¹ *War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*, p. 183.

² For further details, cf. str. 6 below, note. Cf. also *Njáls Saga*, ch. 157; *Thorsteins Saga Siðuhallssonar*, ch. 2.

³ *War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*, p. 209. Cf. also p. 211.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 197.

⁵ Cf. *Njáls Saga*, ch. 157.

great king Brian.” Then Bróðir turned aside and slew King Brian and was afterwards slain himself¹.

This great battle which was regarded by bards and annalists alike as one of the greatest in Irish history² was the occasion of many poems which are scattered up and down the Irish annals³, and elsewhere⁴. It is said in both the Norse and Irish authorities to have been accompanied by strange visions and portents⁵. One of these visions is thus described in *Njáls Saga* (ch. 156):

‘On the morning of Good Friday the following event happened in Caithness. A man called Dörruðr was out walking and saw twelve persons ride in a body to a *dyngja*⁶ where they all disappeared. He went to the *dyngja* and looked in through one of the windows and saw that there were women inside and they had set up a loom. Men’s heads served for weights, men’s entrails for the weft and warp, a sword for the “beater in” and an arrow for the *hræll*. They sang the following verses.’

At this point the saga inserts the poem *Darraðarljóð*, after which it continues as follows:

‘Then they pulled down the web and tore it asunder, and each of them kept the part she had hold of. Dörruðr now turned away from the window and went home. And they mounted their steeds, and rode six to the south and the other six to the north. Brandr, the son of Gneisti, had a similar vision in the Faroes.’

¹ The *War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill* and the *Annals of Loch Cé* are silent as to Bróðir’s slayer. According to *Njáls Saga* he was slain by Ulfr the Quarrelsome; according to *Thorsteins Saga Síðuhallssonar*, ch. 2, by Óspakr his own brother.

² It is the climax to which the *War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill* works up and with which the work abruptly closes. It is also the opening entry and the starting-point of the *Annals of Loch Cé*. Its importance however is literary rather than historical. Sigtryggr continued to reign over Dublin for many years.

³ *War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*, pp. 205, 207; Keating’s *History of Ireland* (Ir. Text Soc.), Vol. III, Section xxv, p. 277.

⁴ Cf. *Njáls Saga*, ch. 157.

⁵ Cf. the *War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*, p. 173; *Thorsteins Saga Síðuhallssonar*, ch. 2; *Annals of Loch Cé*, pp. 7–11.

⁶ *Dyngja*, generally used in Iceland for the ladies’ bower. Originally it would seem to have meant a room for weaving, as a rule partly or wholly underground; cf. early German *dung* (*tunc*), *textrina*.

It is generally agreed that 'Dörruðr' is a myth and owes his existence to the expression *vefr darraðar* in str. 4. An easier explanation would be provided by the name of the poem *Darraðarljóð* as suggested by Munch¹, if this was current when the story was written down; but none of the MSS. give a title to the poem. It is worth noting that the expression *vefr darraðar* occurs in Egill Skallagrímsson's *Höfuðlausn* (str. 5) which is said to have been composed in 936. According to F. Jónsson² *Darraðr* ('Dörroþr') is a name of Othin; but other scholars take the expression to mean 'web of the spear.'

Of the date and authorship of the poem we know nothing. The majority of scholars, including S. Bugge³, F. Jónsson⁴, E. Mogk⁵, etc. believe it to have been composed not very long after the battle, whether in the British Isles or in Iceland, the latter view being favoured by F. Jónsson. Heusler⁶ on the other hand thinks that it dates from a later period, and that it was based on stories of the battle 'in saga form,' though he admits that there is nothing to prevent its being as early as the eleventh century. Others⁷ again have suggested that the poem was not originally connected with the battle of Clontarf, and in this connection we may perhaps note that it contains no proper names except *Írar* in str. 8. So far as I am aware, however, no scholar appears to have stated the grounds for his view in any detail.

The poem was known, perhaps in ballad form, in Orkney in the latter part of the eighteenth century. In Lockhart's *Life of Sir Walter Scott* (Edinburgh, 1902), Vol. iv, p. 223 ff., the following passage occurs:

'A clergyman...while some remnants of the Norse were yet spoken in North Ronaldsha, carried thither the translation of Mr Gray, then newly published, and read it to some of the

¹ *Det norske Folks Historie* (Christiania, 1853), Part i, Vol. ii, p. 648, footnote. ² *Brennu-Njáls saga* (Halle, 1908), p. 415, note to str. 4.

³ *(Norsk) Historisk Tidsskrift*, 1901, Vol. ii, pp. 75 f.

⁴ *Den Islandske Litteraturs Historie* (Copenhagen, 1907), p. 78.

⁵ *Geschichte der Norwegisch-Isländischen Literatur* (Strassburg, 1904), p. 676.

⁶ *Eddica Minora* (Dortmund, 1903), p. iiii.

⁷ Rosenberg, *Nordboernes Aandsliv*, Vol. i, p. 376 f.; Steenstrup, *Normannerne* (Copenhagen, 1882), Vol. iii, p. 170.

old people as referring to the ancient history of their islands. But so soon as he had proceeded a little way, they exclaimed they knew it very well in the original, and had often sung it to himself when he asked them for an old Norse song; they called it *The Enchantresses*.'

It is not impossible that the poem may have come from Iceland to Orkney at some time during the Middle Ages or possibly even later; but as it stands, the external evidence, taken in connection with the reference to Caithness in the saga, certainly points to the north of Scotland rather than to Iceland.

The evidence contained in the poem itself, however, presents certain difficulties. It has been mentioned that it contains no proper names except the word *Írar*. The historical information which it gives may be summed up as follows: (1) a great battle is taking place, which concerns a young king for whose safety and success the spell is being sung (str. 4, 5, 6, 10); (2) a mighty chief (*ríkr gramr*), also described as *jarlmaðr*, (str. 7) is slain; (3) the Irish also are suffering a disaster which will never be forgotten (str. 8); (4) the people who hitherto have been confined to the outlying headlands will now rule the country (str. 7).

It is to be observed that while (2), (3) and (4) of these items are mentioned only in one strophe—or rather half-strophe—each, the 'young king' is the subject of four out of the eleven strophes, and there can be no doubt that it is with him that the poem is primarily concerned. It cannot therefore be derived from the only Icelandic form of the story (*Njáls Saga*) which has come down to us; for there the sympathy is obviously on the side of Brian, while Sigtryggr appears as a cunning enough but by no means heroic character. The Icelanders who were present in the battle had gone there in the following of Earl Sigurðr, not of Sigtryggr; nor was the latter a man of any great distinction, although he reigned for more than half a century.

The facts pointed out above would seem rather to point to Dublin as the original home of the poem. King Sigtryggr's followers might regard the battle as no great misfortune, and

look forward to victories over the Irish in the future. But other difficulties still remain. According to the Irish authorities, which are both earlier and fuller than the Norse, Sigtryggr took no part in the battle, so that the working of the spell for his safety would seem to be superfluous. Why too should the youth of the king be so frequently mentioned? His father died in 980 and he himself became king in 988, so that he cannot have been far short of forty at the time of the battle.

I am inclined therefore to suspect that the poem was composed for some other occasion, probably in Ireland¹, and that it only became associated with the battle of Clontarf at a later period, whether in Orkney or in Iceland. We know that the early years of Sigtryggr's reign were disturbed, e.g. in 993, when he was ejected for a time from Dublin; but few details of these events have been preserved. It is not impossible, however, that it was originally concerned with some earlier king, e.g. with the earlier Sigtryggr, who in the year 919 defeated and slew the high-king Njáll Glundubh in the neighbourhood of Dublin—an event which would certainly seem to suit str. 7 more appropriately than anything that we know of in the history of the later Sigtryggr. It is perhaps worth pointing out that in that case the use of the expression *vefr darraðar* by Egill in 936 could be satisfactorily explained as due to our poem. The expression itself may have been suggested by the Irish word *mórenglaím*, 'the great woof of war,' which occurs in *The Song of Carroll's Sword*², dating from 909.

¹ It is of interest to note in this connection that the word *gagar* (str. 3, l. 4) is a Gaelic loan word. Irish elements are distinctly discernible also in the account of the battle in the prose of *Njáls Saga*—in the miraculous healing of the arm of Brian's servant, and in the joining of Brian's head to his body after it had been severed. These elements are in all probability derived from the lost *Brjáns Saga* (cf. p. 118 below). We may compare the account in the *Three Fragments of Annals* (ed. J. O'Donovan, Dublin, 1860, Vol. i, p. 45 f.), of the miraculous joining of Donnab's head to his body. Munch suggested (*Det norske Folks Historie*, Christiania, 1853, Part i, 2, p. 647) with much probability that the story of the battle may have been brought to Iceland by Thorsteinn, son of Hallr á Siðu, who stayed for some time with Kerðjálfaðr after he had surrendered to him (cf. *Njáls Saga*, ch. 157); but I do not think this explanation will hold good for the poem, which would seem thus to have been composed in Dublin, and later to have found a home in the north of Scotland.

² An annotated text and translation of this poem are given by Kuno Meyer in the *Revue Celtique*, Vol. xx (1899), p. 9 ff.; and in the *Gaelic*

The following short piece occurs in *Njáls Saga*, ch. 157, just after the *Darraðarljóð* (cf. p. 114 above). It is introduced as follows: 'Earl Gilli in the Hebrides dreamed that a man came to him and gave his name as Herfinnr and said that he had come from Ireland. The Earl dreamed that he asked him for news from that quarter. The man recited this verse.'

Here follows the fragment given below:

Vask þars bragnar börðusk, brandr gall á Írlandi,
margr þars møettusk törgur; malmr gnast í dyn hjalma;
sókn þeira frákr snarpa; Sigurðr fell í dyn vigra;
áðr tæði ben blæða; Brjánn fell ok helt velli¹.

'I have been in Ireland where heroes were fighting and many a sword was clashing as shield met shield—the steel was shivered in the crash of armour. Fierce I know was the encounter of those warriors. Sigurðr fell in the crash of spears, but the blood was already pouring from his wounds. Brian fell but won the victory.'

Nothing definite is known as to the origin and date of the poem, though, like the *Darraðarljóð*, it may have been preserved in the *Brjáns Saga*².

In order to understand clearly the metaphor which is worked out so fully in the first two strophes of the *Darraðarljóð*, it is necessary to have a clear understanding of the old upright or perpendicular loom (*vefstaðr*, *vefstoll*) which was still in common use in Iceland in the latter half of the eighteenth century³.

Journal, Vol. x (1900), p. 613 ff. (cf. especially his note on the variant readings of *móreñglaim*). The translation has also been reprinted in *Ancient Irish Poetry*² (London, 1913) p. 72, by the same author. Similar terms are not unknown elsewhere in Norse and in other Teutonic languages, e.g. *Helgakviða Hundingsbana*, i, str. 3 f., *Beowulf*, l. 697; but I do not know of any parallel so close as the Irish one given above.

¹ *dyn hjalma*, cf. l. 3, *dyn vigra*.—Kennings for battle.

Some editors omit the stop after *blæða*. Cf. Ásmundarson's ed. and the *Orkneyinga Saga* (Rolls Series), Appendix, p. 362. The translation would then be, 'Brian fell but won the battle before his wounds began to bleed.'

² Cf. F. Jónsson's ed. of *Brennu-Njáls saga*, p. xxx ff.

³ Accounts of the Norse upright loom and the technical terms used in connection with it are to be found in the *Antiquarisk Tidsskrift* (Copen-

The root principle of all weaving is the rapid passing to and fro of a single free thread of yarn (i.e. weft thread) alternately under and over a series of parallel threads of yarn (i.e. warp threads). This process is represented by the expression *vinda vef*. To ensure a durable fabric, care must be taken in simple weaving, as in the ordinary darning stitch, that the weft thread is never placed under the same thread of warp in two consecutive passages. To facilitate the weaver's task the threads of the warp are invariably stretched and held taut, generally by weights.

In the old Icelandic upright loom the warp threads (*vefr*) are attached to a thick rounded bar of wood (*rifr*) which revolves freely in two wooden sockets at the top of two upright wooden posts (*hleinar*). A beam (*skaf*) or, later, two or even several beams, rested on wooden pegs (*skafstullir*) in the middle of the *hleinar*. To this *skaf* are attached the ends of a number of threads. At the unattached ends are loops through each of which is threaded every alternate warp thread. The backward and forward movement of the *skaf* thus serves to decussate the warp threads in much the same way as the heids of a modern horizontal hand loom. Naturally the shed, or space between the warp threads, is widened and work facilitated by the addition of a second *skaf*. The ends of the warp opposite to the *rifr* are weighted (*kljáðr*), singly or in groups, by heavy stones (*kljásteinar*), which hang freely and hold the warp taut. The work of the reed in the modern hand loom seems to

hagen, 1846—1848), p. 212; A. Barlow, *History and Principles of Weaving* (London, 1878), p. 58 ff.; *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities* (ed. Smith, Wayte and Marindin, London, 1890—1891), *sv. Tela*; Fritzner, *Ordbog over det gamle norske Sprog* (Christiania, 1886—1896), *s.v. vefr, skeið* (f. (2)), *hræll*, etc. Further references may be made to K. Leems, *Beskrivelse over Finmarkens Lapper*, published (English translation) in Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels* (London, 1808), Vol. I, p. 447; N. M. Petersen, *Historiske Fortællinger om Islændernes Færd hjemme og ude* (Copenhagen, 1862), Vol. II, p. 350 ff.; E. Sundt, *Folkevennen* for 1865, p. 59 ff. Subsequent accounts of Norse and Icelandic weaving have been based for the most part on O. Olavius's *Ekonomisk Reise gjennem Island*, Sorø, 1772, Vol. I (2nd ed. Amsterdam, 1780, Vol. II, 630). His account, however, is far from clear (cf. p. 120 below), and the above descriptions all require to be checked by the account given by Mr Ling Roth of some practical experiments made by him on these upright looms. Cf. his pamphlet *Ancient Egyptian and Greek Looms*, published in 'Bankfield Museum Notes,' Second Series, No. 2 (Halifax, 1913), p. 84 ff.

have been done by different implements at different periods, and on this point there is no consensus of opinion among experts. It seems to be clear, however, that at any rate a part of this work was done by the *skeið*, a large smooth spear-shaped implement of whalebone. It may have been used also to 'sley' or force up¹ the threads of the weft so that they should lie close together to give the necessary firmness to the fabric. This work appears to have been performed in some cases by a comb-shaped implement, and the *skeið* inserted into the shed, as its shape suggests, to give the necessary blow to the comb from below. Mr Roth however declares² that he can get no good results from sleying the threads of the upright loom with this 'comb.'

The same vagueness unfortunately exists as to the use of the *hræll*, a small sharp implement of bone or hard wood hanging from the *rifr* by a cord. It would no doubt be used to separate the threads of the warp, preparatory to threading them through the loops of the heilds; and it may also have been used for adjusting the weft threads from time to time. It is to be noted, however, that in Olavius's account of the Icelandic loom the *hræll* and the *skeið* are both said to be used for 'beating in' the weft; but the description is obscure in many other points also, and Mr Roth is of the opinion³ that the *hræll* was used as a preliminary to the *skeið*. He refers to the statement of N. Annandale (*The Faroes and Iceland*, Oxford, 1905, p. 195 f.) that he obtained in the Faroes a beater-in ('weaver's sword') made of a whale's jaw or rib. Such an object would probably serve the purposes of both a *hræll* and a *skeið*, having approximately the shape of the former and the dimensions of the latter. The shuttle was unknown, and the weft threads were pushed through the warp by hand.

¹ It is to be observed that on the upright looms of the North the cloth was woven downwards, the first weft thread being inserted at the top of the warp and sleyed upwards.

² Cf. H. L. Roth, *Ancient Egyptian and Greek Looms* ('Bankfield Museum Notes,' Second Series, No. 2, Halifax, 1913), p. 20 and footnote.

³ *Ancient Egyptian and Greek Looms*, p. 35.

The following are the more important MSS. of *Njáls Saga* in which the poem has been preserved¹:

F : *Reykjabók* (AM. 468), c. 1300.

A : *Möðruvallabók* (AM. 132), c. 1350.

I : *Gráskinna* (Gl. Kgl. Saml. 2870), c. 1300 (17th C. transcript).

E : *Oddabók* (AM. 466), 15th Century.

Ms. I is incomplete, and for the portion which includes the *Darraðarljóð* we are dependent on a seventeenth century transcript. The text of the poem which it offers is on the whole the most reliable; but its readings often require to be checked by a comparison with the other three MSS. I have therefore taken I as the basis of my text, indicating the most important of the variant readings in the footnotes below.

The metre of the poem is *Fornyrðislag*. Cf. p. 78 above.

¹ Cf. Jón Thorkelsson, 'Om håndskrifterne af Njáls' in *Njála*, Vol. II (Copenhagen, 1889), p. 649 ff. Cf. also p. 579 ff.; F. Jónsson's edition of *Brennu-Njáls saga* (Halle, 1908), p. XLII; Heusler, *Eddica Minora*, p. XLVIII.

THE DARRAÐARLJÓÐ

- 1 Víttr es orpit¹ fyr valfalli
 rifs² reiðiský³; rignir blóði;
 nú's fyr geirum grár upp kominn
 vefr verþjóðar sás⁴ vinur fylla
 rauðum vestri⁵ Randvés bana⁶.
- 2 Sás orpinn vefr⁷ ýta þörmum
 ok harðkljáðr⁸ höfðum manna;
 eru dreyrrekin dörr⁹ at sköftum,
 jarnvarðr¹⁰ yllir¹¹, enn örum hrælaðr¹²;
 skulum¹³ slá sverðum sigrvef þenna.
- 3 Gengr Hildr vefa¹⁴ ok Hjörþrimul,
 Sanngríðr¹⁵, Svipul¹⁶ sverðum tognum¹⁷;
 skaft mun gnesta, skjöldr mun bresta¹⁸;
 mun hjalmgagarr í hlíf koma.
- 4 Vindum¹⁹, vindum vef darraðar,
 sás ungr konungr átti fyrri;
 fram skulum ganga ok²⁰ í folk vaða,
 þars vinir várir vápnunum skifta.
- 5 Vindum, vindum vef darraðar,
 ok siklingi síðan fylgjum;
 þar sjá²¹ bragna²² blóðgar randir
 Gunnr ok Göndul þærs grami hlífðu²³.
- 6 Vindum, vindum vef darraðar,
 þars vé vaða vígra manna;
 látum eigi líf hans farask²⁴;
 eigu valkyrjur vals²⁵ um kosti.

¹ A; orðit I; orpinn E; orf(inn) F. ² reifs I. ³ -ský om. E, F, I.

⁴ þær er A, I; þær E, F. ⁵ om. E.

⁶ A; Randvés líka I; randverks bla E; randversk bla F. ⁷ vefr orpinn I.

⁸ -kliaþr mss. ⁹ davggr E. ¹⁰ iarnvarað E; iarnvarðr I. ¹¹ ylli F, E.

¹² A, I; hrælað E; hrælar F. ¹³ A, E, F; skal I. ¹⁴ at vefa I.

¹⁵ Sangrídri A; ok Sandg(ri)ðr I; Sangniðr F; Savgnið(r) E.

¹⁶ Sípul F; om. I. ¹⁷ tognun A, I; rekna E, F.

¹⁸ sköpt munu gnesta, en skildir munu bresta I. ¹⁹ I om. this strophe.

²⁰ flokk E. ²¹ sia E, F, I; sáu A.

²² em. Thorkelsson and Gíslason; bragnar E, F; bara A; bera I.

²³ A, E, I; fylgðu F. ²⁴ líf her svaraz F.

²⁵ E, F, I (margin); vígs A, I (text).

THE DARRAÐARLJÓÐ

- 1 A loom has been set up, stretching afar and portending slaughter.....and a rain of blood is pouring. Upon it has been stretched a warp of human beings—a warp grey with spears, which the valkyries are filling with weft of crimson.

- 2 This warp is formed of men's entrails, and is heavily weighted with human heads. Blood-stained javelins serve as heddles, the spool is shod with iron, the *hræll* is formed of arrows, and it is with swords that we must sley this web of battle.

- 3 Hildr is going to weave, and Hjörþrimul, Sanngríðr and Svipul with drawn swords. The spearshaft will snap, the shield will be cleft, and armour will be pierced by the render of the helmet.

- 4 We are weaving, weaving the web of the spear. Young is the king who owned it in the past. Forth must we step, and make our way into the battle, where the arms of our friends are clashing.

- 5 We are weaving, weaving the web of the spear, and we shall continue to aid the hero. Then Gunnr and Göndul who have guarded the prince will look upon the bloody shields of warriors.

- 6 We are weaving, weaving the web of the spear, while the standard of the valiant warrior is advancing. We shall not suffer him to lose his life. It is for the valkyries to determine who shall be slain.

- 7 Þeir munu lýðir löndum ráða,
 es útskaga áðr um bygðu;
 kveðk ríkjum gram ráðinn dauða;
 nús fyr oddum jarlmaðr¹ hniginn.
- 8 Ok munu Írar angr um bíða,
 þats aldri mun ýtum fyrnask;
 nús vefr ofinn, enn völlr roðinn;
 munu um lönd fara læspjöll gota.
- 9 Nús ógurlegt um at lítask,
 es dreyrug ský dregr² með himni;
 mun loft litat³ lýða blóði,
 es sóknvarðir⁴ syngja⁵ kunnu⁶.
- 10 Vel kváðum⁷ vér um konung ungan
 sigrljóða⁸ fjölð⁹; syngjum heilar!
 Enn hinn nemi es heyrir á
 geirfljóða¹⁰ ljóð¹¹, ok gumum segi¹².
- 11 Ríðum hestum hart¹³ út berum
 brugðnum sverðum á braut heðan.

¹ saklauss maðr I. ² es...dregr: at dreyrugt ský dregsk A, I. ³ litask I.

⁴ em. F. Jónsson; spár varar E, F; spár varðar A; þá er sókn varðar I.

⁵ A, I; springa E, F. ⁶ om. A.

⁷ kváðu E; kveðu A; k(r)aðu F. ⁸ sigrhlióða A, E, I; sigr hliða F.

⁹ A, F; fljóð E, I. ¹⁰ I; geirljóða A; geirhljóða E, F.

¹¹ hljóð I; fljóð E; fjölð A, F. ¹² A, I; skemti E, F. ¹³ Allz A.

- 7 The people who have hitherto occupied only the out-lying headlands shall have dominion over the land. I declare that death is ordained for a mighty prince.— Even now the earl has been laid low by the spears.
- 8 The Irish too will suffer a sorrow which will never be forgotten by men. Now the web has been woven and the field dyed crimson. The news of the disaster will travel throughout the world.
- 9 It is ghastly now to look around, when blood-red clouds are gathering in the sky. The air is being dyed with the blood of men, while the maidens of battle are singing.
- 10 Many spells of victory have we chanted well for the young king. May we have luck in our singing! And may he who hearkens to the spear-maidens' lay learn it and tell it to men.
- 11 Let us brandish our swords, and gallop our barebacked steeds out hence and away.

XII. THE SONATORREK, ETC.

Egill Skallagrímsson, the most important of all the poets of Iceland, was born about the year 900 at Borg in Borgarfjörðr, where his father Skallagrímr had settled on his departure from Norway in 878. The story of his life, together with what remains of his poems, is preserved in the saga which bears his name, and which appears to have been written down about the close of the twelfth century. At an early age Egill showed signs of a truculent and unruly disposition. He went abroad for the first time about the year 915 with his elder brother Thórólfr, and spent the next ten years in Norway. His conduct there brought upon him the hostility of Eric (Blóðöx), son of King Harold the Fair-haired, and more especially of Eric's wife Gunnhildr. In consequence of this the two brothers had to leave Norway. They went to England and took service under King Aethelstan whose territories were threatened with invasion by 'Olaf the Red,' who is represented in the saga as King of Scotland. In the campaign which ensued Thórólfr was killed. Egill was handsomely rewarded for his services by King Aethelstan, and shortly afterwards went back to Norway, where he married Ásgerðr, his brother's widow. With her he returned home to Iceland (about 927). Some years later, hearing of the death of his wife's father, he again visited Norway to claim her share of the property. The claim was disputed by the husband of his wife's sister who alleged that Ásgerðr was illegitimate. Egill again incurred the wrath of Eric who was now king, and his life was saved only by the efforts of the baron Arinbjörn, a relative of his wife. Eventually Egill murdered both the rival claimant and a young son of the king, and then escaped to Iceland. In 936 he again set out for England to visit King Aethelstan, being unaware that Eric had been expelled from Norway and was now established under Aethelstan at York. Egill's

ship was wrecked at the mouth of the Humber, but he succeeded in finding his friend Arinbjörn, who persuaded him to compose a panegyric on King Eric (the *Höfuðlausn*), by means of which he was enabled to save his life. After some time spent with King Aethelstan, and another short visit to Norway, he returned home to Iceland (about 938). He was again in Norway for about two years (about 950—952); but apart from this he spent the rest of his life in his native land. He occupied the family home at Borg until after his wife's death (about 973), when he gave it up to his son Thorsteinn. After this he lived with his stepdaughter Thordís at Mosfell, where he died about 982. Besides Thorsteinn he had two sons, both of whom died young (about 960), and two daughters, one of whom (Thorgerðr) was married to Olaf Páir, and is a prominent character in the *Laxdæla Saga*.

Three of Egill's longer poems have been preserved—the *Höfuðlausn*, composed at York in 936, the *Sonatorrek*, an elegy on the loss of his two sons, and the *Arinbjarnardrápa*, composed in honour of his friend Arinbjörn. The two latter are believed to date from about 960. In addition to these, he is known to have composed at least three other long poems, one of which (the *Aðalsteinsdrápa*) was a panegyric in honour of King Aethelstan, composed about 926. Of this the first verse and the refrain have been preserved and are given below. The saga contains also a large number of single strophes, which are said to have been composed by Egill on various occasions.

Egill's poems, more especially the shorter pieces, are typical examples of the highly artificial style of composition cultivated by the poets of his day. The extravagant kennings render them distasteful to the modern reader, and this distaste is intensified by the habit of interweaving two or more co-ordinate sentences, which are not always easy to disentangle. Indeed it must have required considerable familiarity with the art to apprehend the poet's meaning when he was declaiming them. At the same time, they are of considerable interest for the light which they throw on

the man's character, in addition to the information which they give in regard to the life and thought of the times.

The most important texts of *Egils Saga* are contained in two vellums, *AM.* 132 (M), dating probably from about the middle of the fourteenth century, and the *Wölfenbuttel* ms. (W), which is of about the same date but incomplete—and one paper ms. *AM.* 453, copied, apparently, in the seventeenth century, from a ms. (K), dating from about 1400, of which only a small fragment (*AM.* 162 E) now remains. Of these MSS. M is in every way the best. According to F. Jónsson the remaining MSS. are of no independent value.

As specimens of Egill's style I have selected (1) two strophes from ch. 55, which form a short elegy on the death of his brother Thórólfr, (2) the opening strophe and the refrain—all that is preserved—of his panegyric on King Aethelstan, also from ch. 55, (3) the elegy (*Sonatorrek*) on the deaths of his two sons, from ch. 78.

With regard to the two former pieces it is to be observed that according to the saga the war against 'Olaf the Red' broke out very shortly after Aethelstan had succeeded to the throne. Thórólfr and Egill offered their services to the king, and the former was given an important command in the army. In the fighting which followed he was killed, but the English were victorious, largely owing to Egill's bravery. Olaf was slain, and his army was dispersed.

It is clear that the saga, which was not written down until about the year 1200, is inaccurate in several particulars. In 'Olaf the Red' two distinct persons appear to be confused. Anlaf (Óláfr), son of Guthfrith, King of Dublin, and his ally Constantine, King of Scotland; but neither of them was killed in battle against Aethelstan¹. The battle described in the saga is said to have taken place shortly after Aethelstan's accession, and many years before King Eric was expelled from Norway (935). It cannot therefore be the Battle of Brunanburh which was fought in 937², in spite of the similarity between the names *Vínheiðr* and *Víná* and

¹ Cf. p. 61 ff. above.

² Cf. p. 59 ff. above.

the name *Weondun* which Symeon of Durham¹ gives to the Battle of Brunanburh. It would appear rather to have been an earlier attempt on the part of Anlaf to reclaim the kingdom from which his father Guthfrith had been expelled. In the saga Egill is represented as reciting the following strophes at his brother's funeral on the battlefield; but the expressions *jörð grær*, etc. (str. 1), and *vestan* (str. 2), rather suggest that they were composed at some later date, presumably after the poet's return to Iceland.

1 Gekk sás óðisk ekki², jarlsmanns bani, snarla,
þreklundaðr fell þundar þórólfr í gný stórum.
Jörð grær, enn vér verðum, Vínu nær of mínum—
helnauð es þat—hylja harm, ágætum³ barma.

2 Valköstum hlóðk vestan vang fyr merkistangir,
ótt vas él þats⁴ sóttak Aðils bláum⁵ Naðri;
háði ungr við Engla Áleifr þrumu⁶ stála;
helt, né⁷ hrafnar sultu, Hringr á⁸ vápna þingi.

1 Thórólfr the bold-hearted, the slayer of the earl, he who feared nothing, strode forth valiantly and fell in Thundr's great uproar. Near Vína the earth is green over my noble brother. That is a deadly sorrow; but we will suppress our grief.

2 In the West I covered the ground with heaps of slaughter in front of my standard. Violent was the storm which I brought upon Aðils with my black Adder. The young Áleifr raised a tempest of steel against the English. Hringr busied himself in the clash of weapons, and the ravens did not go hungry.

The other strophe is all that remains of a *drápa* or panegyric poem in honour of Aethelstan, which Egill is also represented (ch. 55) as having produced shortly after the battle.

¹ *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae* (Rolls Series), cap. xviii; *Historia Regum*, ib. § 83.

² om. W.

⁴ M, W; þat K.

⁷ þar er W; meðan K.

³ em. F. Jónsson, *ágætun* M; *agiætan* W, K.

⁵ með bl. K.

⁸ at W.

⁶ olafr þrimu M, W.

Þá orti Egill drápu um Aðalstein konung, ok er í því kvæði þetta:

Nú hefir foldgnárr felda	—fellt jörð und nið Ellu—
hjaldrsennerrandi, harra	höfuðbaðmr, þríja jöfra.
Aðalsteinn of vann annat	—alt's lægra kynfrægjum—
hér sverjum þess, hyrjar	hrannbrjótr ¹ !—konungmanni.

Enn þetta er stefit í drápunni:

Nú liggr hæst und hraustum hreinbraut Aðalsteini.

Then Egill composed a panegyric upon King Aethelstan, which contained the following strophe:

The scion of kings...he who rouses the battle into fury, has now laid three princes low. The land falls into the hands of Ælla's kinsman. Aethelstan has accomplished yet more. Here we swear it, O distributor of gold! There is nothing so noble as a royal person of renowned stock.

And this is the refrain of the poem:

The highest mountain ridges are now subject to the valiant Aethelstan.

The *Sonatorrek* appears to have been composed some thirty-five years after the poems given above. It is preserved in ch. 78 of the saga, where an account is given of the circumstances from which it arose.

Egill had bought timber from a ship which had come up the White River, and his son Böðvarr, then about seventeen years of age, went with the men on an eight-oared boat to bring it home. A storm arose and the ship foundered, and the whole crew were drowned.

Egill heard the same day what had happened and went to look for Böðvarr's body. Having found it he rode with it to Dígranes and placed it in the family barrow beside his father Skallagrímr. Then he rode home to Borg, and went straight to bed and locked himself in. No one dared to dis-

¹ em. F. Jónsson; ms. *hannhrjótr*.

turb him, and he lay thus for two days without food or drink. But on the third morning his wife Ásgerðr sent a messenger to bring their daughter Thorgerðr from Hjarðarholt. Thorgerðr set off immediately and rode to Borg with two companions.

‘Ásgerðr greeted her and asked whether they had had supper.

Thorgerðr replied in a loud voice: “I have had no supper, and I will not have any till I arrive at Freyja’s home. I think that the best thing for me to do is to follow my father’s example. I have no wish to survive my father and my brother.”

She went to the bedroom and called out: “Father, open the door. I want us both to go the same journey.”

Egill undid the lock, and Thorgerðr stepped up into the bedroom and closed the door; she lay down on another bed that was there.

Then Egill said: “You have done well, daughter, in wanting to accompany your father. You have shown how greatly you are devoted to me.—How could it be expected that I should want to live under such a burden of grief?”

After this they were silent for a while.

Then Egill said: “What are you doing, daughter? Are you chewing something?”

“I am chewing samphire,” she replied, “because I think it will do me harm; I am afraid that otherwise I may live too long.”

“Is samphire bad for people?” asked Egill.

“Very bad,” said she; “will you have some?”

“Why not?” said he.

A little while after she called out and asked them to give her a drink. Then they gave her a drink.

Then Egill said: “It is always so with those who eat samphire.—They grow more and more thirsty.”

“Would you like a drink, father?” says she.

He took it and gulped down a deep draught. It was in a horn.

Then said Thorgerðr: “Now we have both been tricked. This is milk.”

Then Egill, who had the horn to his lips, took a great bite out of it and threw it down.

Then Thorgerðr said: "What shall we do now? Our plan is spoilt. I think it would be best now, father, for us to prolong our lives, so that you could compose an elegy on Böðvarr, and I will carve it on a rod, and after that we can die if we like. I hardly think that your son Thorsteinn could compose a poem on Böðvarr, and it is not right that he should not be celebrated;—for I do not think that you and I will be at the feast when he is waked."

Egill said that he was not likely to be able to compose anything, even if he attempted it: "However I will try," said he.

Egill had had another son called Gunnarr, and he also had died a short time before. Then Egill began the poem....

Egill began to recover his spirits as he proceeded with the poem. And when it was finished he took it to Ásgerðr and Thorgerðr and his household. Then he left his bed and took his place in his high seat. He called that poem *Sonatorrek*. Afterwards Egill had a funeral feast made for his sons according to ancient custom; and when Thorgerðr went home, Egill saw her off and gave her presents. Egill dwelt for a long time at Borg and lived to a great age.'

The *Sonatorrek* is preserved in the saga almost entire. It is composed in the *Kviðuhátttr*—a variety of the old epic metre in which three- and four-syllable half-verses alternate.

It will be seen that the metaphors in this poem are of a somewhat different kind from those which occur in court poetry, reflecting as they do rather the life of the Northern farmer, e.g. the beehive, the boathouse, building timber, grafting, and possibly the steelyard—and the same remark may perhaps be made in regard to the type of mind which the poem reveals. Other metaphors, however, are drawn from the mythology current among the poets of the time, e.g. the references to Rán, Ægir and Othin. Egill's allusions to the gods do not seem to be of a very serious character either here or in his other poems—with the exception of a strophe in ch. 56, where he invokes them, evidently with great gusto, in

a curse upon King Eric. His attitude towards the gods may be contrasted with that of Thórólfr of Mostr towards his 'dear friend Thor,' or that of Hrafnkell Freysgoði, who 'loved Freyr so much that he gave him half of all the best things that he had,' including a horse. Yet although the tone of Egill's references to the gods are characteristic of the times, some of the allusions to religion in the poem are of a somewhat unusual character. In particular we may notice the references to immortality in str. 10 and 21, in connection with which it is perhaps worth remembering that Egill had been for some time in Aethelstan's service, where he had been primesigned and must have acquired some knowledge of Christianity.

Unfortunately the text of the poem is in a far from satisfactory condition. It is preserved for the most part only in K, the worst of the MSS. referred to on p. 128 above. Strophe 1 is found also in M and W, and str. 23 and the first half of 24 in the *Prose Edda* (*Skáldskaparmál*, ch. 2). I have followed the text of K¹ as given by Finnur Jónsson in his edition of *Egils Saga* (Copenhagen, 1886—1888), except in strophe 1 and in other cases where departure from the MS. reading appeared necessary. No exhaustive collation of the readings of the various MSS. seems ever to have been published, and in many cases it is very difficult to make out from the editions what readings have MS. support. The editions of Vígfusson and Powell (*Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, Oxford, 1883) and of F. Jónsson (*ed. cit.*, also Copenhagen, 1913) contain a very large number of emendations. In some of these cases F. Jónsson himself seems to have gone back to the MS. reading in his edition of Egilsson's *Lexicon Poeticum*².

¹ As represented by *AM.* 453.

² *Lexicon Poeticum Antiquae Linguae Septentrionalis*, revised and re-edited by F. Jónsson (Copenhagen, 1913—1916).

THE SONATORREK

- 1 Mjök erum¹ tregt tungu at hrœra
ór loftátt² ljóð prúðara³.
Era nú vænt⁴ ór⁵ Viðurs⁶ þýfi,
né hógdrœgt ór hugar fylgsni.
- 2 Esa auðþeustr⁷, því at ekki veldr
höfugleggr, ór hyggju stað
fagnafundr Friggjar⁸ niðja,
árborinn ór Jötunheimum.
- 3 Lastalauss *es lifnaði
á Nokkvers nökkva Bragi*.
Jötuns hals undir þjóta⁹
náins niðr fyr naustdurum.
- 4 Þvít átt mín á enda stendr
sem hræbarnar hliñr marka.
Esa karskr maðr, sás köggla¹⁰ berr
frænda hrörs af fletjum niðr¹¹.
- 5 Þó munk mitt ok móður hrör
føður fall fyrst um telja,
þat berk út ór orðhofi
mærðar timbr máli laufgat.
- 6 Grimt varumk hlið þats hrönn um braut
føður míns á frændgarði.
Veitk ófult ok opit standa
sonar skarð, es mér sær um vann.
- 7 Mjök hefr Rán ryskt um mik;
emk ofsnauðr at ástvinum.
Sleit marr¹² bönd mínna áttar,
snaran¹³ þátt af sjalfum mér.

¹ M, W; *er um* K. ² M, W; *eðr loptvæi* K. ³ M, W; *-pundara* K.
⁴ *vænlegt* K. ⁵ M, W; *um* K. ⁶ *Vidris* K. ⁷ em. G. Pálsson; *and-* K.
⁸ em. G. Pálsson; *þriggia* K. ⁹ *flota* K. ¹⁰ *þaugla* K.
¹¹ em. Dietrich; *riður* K. ¹² *mars* K. ¹³ om. K.

THE SONATORREK

- 1 It is very difficult for me to set in motion with my tongue
a lofty poem.....There is now nothing to be hoped for
from Othin's spoil. It is not easily to be drawn from the
recesses of my soul.

- 2 The happy discovery of Frigg's relatives, brought long
ago from Jötunheimar, cannot easily be made to flow
from the depths of my heart; for it is repressed by heavy
grief.

- 3 Faultless...Ýmir's streams are roaring down in front of
the entrance to my kinsman's grave-mound.

- 4 For my line is drawing to an end, like the.....of the
forests battered.....There is no happiness in the man
who is carrying down from his house the last remains of
one of his family.

- 5 Now first I will tell of my own, his father's loss, and of
his mother's bereavement. Such is the timber, clad with
foliage of diction, which I will bring forth from my temple
of speech to build my edifice of poetry.

- 6 The rent which the waves have made in the pale of my
father's family has been harrowing to me. Empty and
unoccupied I see the place from which the sea has torn
my son.

- 7 Greatly has Rán afflicted me. I have been despoiled of
a dear friend. The sea has rent the ties of my kindred
and torn a stout thread from me myself.

- 8 Veizt ef¹ sök sverði um rækak,
 vas ölsmið allra tíma.
 *Roða vagsbræðr um voga mættak,
 fœrag andvígr Ægis mani*
- 9 En ek ekki eiga² þóttumk
 sakar afl við sonar³ bana.
 Þvít alþjóð fyr augum verðr
 gamals þegns gengileysi.
- 10 Mik hefir marr miklu ræntan,
 grimt es fall frænda at telja,
 síðan's mín á munvega
 áttar skjöldr aflfi hvarf.
- 11 Veitk þat sjalfr at í syni mínum
 vasa⁴ ills þegns efni vaxit,
 ef sá randviðr röskvask næði,
 unz Hergauts hendr um tœki.
- 12 Æ lét flest þats faðir mælti,
 þótt öll þjóð annat segði;
 ok mér upp helt um herbergi⁵
 ok mítt afl mest um studdi.
- 13 Oft kemr mér *ma biarnar*
 í byrvind bræðra leysi;
 hyggjumk um es hildr þróask,
 nýsumk hins ok hygg at því,
- 14 hverr mér hugaðr á hlið standi
 annarr þegn við óðræði;
 þarfk þess oft *of her giaurum*
 verðk varfleygr es vinir þverra.
- 15 Mjök's torfyndr sás trúá knegim
 of alþjóð elgjar galga,
 Þvít niðgóðr niðja steypir
 bróður hér við baugum selr.

¹ em. G. Pálsson; *um þá* K. ² *eigna* K. ³ em. F. Jónsson; *suð's* K.
⁴ *var* K. ⁵ em. Wisén; *verbergi* K.

- 8 Know that if I could have avenged my cause with my sword, the ale-brewer would have been no more.....
.....
- 9 But I felt that I had not strength to contend with the destroyer of my son. The helplessness of the old man will be manifest to all.
- 10 Greatly has the sea robbed me. It is harrowing to speak of the loss of kinsmen—from the time that the shield of my kindred passed from this life to paths of bliss.
- 11 I know it of my own conviction ;—the promise of a good man would have matured in my son, if that martial soul had been allowed to ripen until the hands of the War God had embraced him.
- 12 Ever did he attach most value to his father's words, even when all the world gainsaid me ; he upheld me in my house and was the chief stay of my strength.
- 13 The void left by the brothers often comes into my.....
.....I wonder—I cast about me and meditate upon the question where, when the conflict rages, I shall find
- 14 another spirited knight who will stand by my side in the struggle. I have often had need.... I will take to flight prudently, now that my friends are vanishing.
- 15 It is very difficult to find anyone in the world...whom we can trust ; for...he who debases his kindred barter here his brother for treasure.

- 16 Finnk þat oft, es féar beiðir
.....
- 17 þat's ok mælt at *mangi getr*¹
sonar iðgjöld, nema sjalfr ali,
né² þann nið es öðrum sé
borinn maðr í bróður stað.
- 18 Erumka þekt þjóðar sinni,
þótt sér hverr sátt um haldi.
Burr's býskips í bæ kominn
kvánar sunr kynnis leita.
- 19 Enn mér *fanst* í föstum þökk
hrosta hilmir á hendi stendr.
Máka upp *í áróar grímu*
rýnis reið réttir³ halda.
- 20 síz sun mín sóttar brími
heiftuglegr ór heimi nam,
þanns⁴ ek veit at varnaði
vamma vanr⁵ við vámaeli⁶.
- 21 þat mank enn es upp um hóf
í Goðheim Gauta spjalli
áttar ask þanns óx af mér,
ok kynvið kvánar mínna.
- 22 Áttak gótt við geira dróttin;
gerðumk trygg at trúa hánum,
áðr vinat vagna rúni⁷,
sigrhöfundr⁸, um sleit við mik.
- 23 Blætka⁹ því bróður Vílis,
goðjaðar¹⁰, at gjarn¹¹ séak,
þó hefir Míms¹² vinr mér um fengnar¹³
bölva boetr, es et¹⁴ betra telk¹⁵.

¹ em. G. Pálsson; *einginn geti* K.² em. G. Magnæus; *alitue* K.³ em. G. Pálsson; *rjetti* K.⁴ em. Wisén; *þann* K.⁵ em. F. Jónsson; *var* K.⁶ em. B. M. Olsen; *namæli* K.⁷ em. Vigfusson; *runne* K.⁸ *sigrhaufunde* K.⁹ em. Wisén; *blótka* K; *blóta* Sn. Edda U; *blótka ek ei af*, Sn. Edda AM.¹⁰ *guðjarþar* Sn. Edda; *góds-* K.¹¹ *gjarna* Sn. Edda R.¹² em. Dietrich; *mis-* K; *mins-* Sn. Edda W; *minnis* Sn. Edda U.¹³ *fengit* Sn. Edda. ¹⁴ *ef hit* K.¹⁵ so Pfeiffer, *telde* K; *telz* Sn. Edda W.

- 16 I find generally that when money is claimed....
- 17 It is also said that no one can obtain compensation for a son, unless he raise up a second son to himself, nor will he get a man who is the son of another to take the place of his adopted brother.
- 18 The society of mankind is displeasing to me, even though everyone keeps the peace. My child, the son of my wife, has gone to seek his companions in the beehive dwelling.
- 19 But...the ruler of the malt brew stands confronting me in unyielding mood. I have not been able to hold upright my vehicle of knowledge....
- 20 since the raging fever snatched from the world my son who, as I can aver, led a blameless life and kept himself free from reproach.
- 21 I remember still how the friend of the Gautar raised up to the home of the gods a shoot of my stock sprung from me, the sapling from my wife.
- 22 I was friendly with the Lord of the Spear; I trusted him without misgiving until the Lord of cars, the awarder of victory, broke friendship with me.
- 23 It is not because I am eager to do so that I am worshipping Víli's brother, the chief of the gods. Yet Mímir's friend has granted me compensation for my misfortunes which I account as a substantial benefit.

24 Gafumk íþrótt ulfs um¹ bági,
 vígi vanr, vammí firrða,
 ok þat geð es gerðak mér
 vísa fiandr af² vélöndum.

25 Erumk³ torvelt. Tveggja bága
 njörvaníft á nesi⁴ stendr.
 Skalk þó glaðr góðum⁵ vilja
 ok óhryggr Heljar bíða.

¹ U; ok K. ² em. G. Magnæus; ad K. ³ nu er mærl K.
 ⁴ nesin K. ⁵ em. Wisén; með goðan K.

- 24 The foe of the wolf, long tried in battle, granted me faultless art and a disposition which has enabled me to expose the hostility of secret foes.
- 25 Hard is my lot. The giant sister of Othin's adversary is standing on the headland. Yet will I gladly await my death, with a good will and without regret.

XIII. THE BATTLE OF THE GOTHS AND THE HUNS

Hervarar Saga

The following poem is preserved in ch. 12—15 of the *Saga of Hervör and Heiðrekr*. Unlike the rest of the pieces contained in this volume it belongs definitely to heroic poetry, and its nearest affinities are with the heroic poems of the *Edda*, especially perhaps with the *Atlakviða*, which it resembles both in language and subject, as will be pointed out below. In some respects indeed it would seem to be of a more historical character than the heroic poems of the *Edda*. It presents clearly the national features of the invasion which it describes—thus avoiding the usual tendency of Norse poetry to lose sight of the national in the personal, and to represent great wars as struggles between wealthy families. We may note too that the special characteristic of the Huns—their wealth in horses—is more prominent here than anywhere else. All these features go to show the antiquity of the poem, or at least of the poetic tradition on which it is based.

It is clear that much of the prose in the part of the *Saga of Hervör and Heiðrekr* to which our poem belongs is a close paraphrase of lost verses. This and other questions relating to the history of the poem have been discussed by Heusler¹.

The same scholar, following Heinzel², holds that certain features of the poem point to a continental South Teutonic origin—such as e.g. (1) words and phrases used in a sense which is familiar to us from German but not from Norse poetry; e.g. *skalkr*, str. 10; *þar í Húnalandi*, str. 2; *Angantýs maðr*, str. 27, etc.; (2) the frequent verse conclusion $\cup \approx$; e.g. 2, 1; 10, 2; 14, 1; 15, 2, etc.; (3) the construction *saxi ok með sverði*, etc., strophes 2, 7. Some of these, if they

¹ *Eddica Minora* (Dortmund, 1903), p. XIII; cf. also Heinzel, 'Ueber die Hervararsaga' in *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Classe der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Vienna), Vol. cxiv, p. 457.

² Cf. 'Ueber die Hervararsaga,' p. 449 ff.

are not of foreign origin, must be regarded as indications of considerable antiquity. *Skalkr*, although bearing the required sense both in England and Germany, is used in Norse elsewhere only in the sense of 'rogue'¹.

There are many expressions used in the poem which recall *Atlakviða*, *Helgakviða Hundingsbana II* and other early heroic poems. Some of these will be pointed out in the notes below. We may notice too the curious resemblance between the opening of this poem and that of the *Atlakviða*. In each case a messenger (*seggr*) is sent by a prince to the hall of his enemy to demand an interview. On entering he finds the occupants seated at a feast, and proceeds to announce his message. We may further compare the catalogue of treasures and possessions offered by Atli to Gunnarr (*Atlakviða*, str. 4, 5) with the very similar list demanded by Hlöðr from Angantýr (*Battle of the Goths*, etc., str. 7, 8). In each case the reply is accompanied by a second catalogue. The scene of both poems is laid in the same country and indicated by place-names and descriptions (sometimes of an unusual character) which are common to both, such as *stöðum Danpar* (*B. of G.*, str. 8; *Akv.* str. 5), *hrís þat et mæra es Myrkviðr heitir* (*B. of G.*, str. 8; *Akv.* str. 5).

Some of the names which are found in our poem and the *Atlakviða* occur also in the opening strophes (as well as in the prose introduction) of the *Völundarkviða*. We hear there of three valkyries, of whom one is called Hervör (daughter of Hlöðvér), the same name as that of Angantýr's warrior sister. One of her companions is called Ölrún, whose father's name Kíarr occurs also in the *Atlakviða*, str. 7. After spending seven years with Völundr and his brothers they fly away á *Myrkvan víð* to resume a life of warfare.

Confused reminiscences of the story seem to be preserved in Saxo's *Danish History*, (1) in the names Humblus and Lotherus, Book I, p. 2, etc.; (2) in the incident of Eric's visit to the army of the Huns, Book v, pp. 190 f., 194 f. The sources from which Saxo derived his information are

¹ Heinzel, *op. cit.*, p. 459 f.; but see note to str. 10 below (p. 202).

uncertain, but Ólfrík¹ holds that (1) comes from Danish tradition, while (2) is to be traced to Icelandic-Norwegian sources. Much of the latter story is given by Saxo in verse, and it is possible that the tradition reached him partly in the form of poems. His narrative contains some elements which are not found in the *Hervarar Saga* but which yet appear to bear the stamp of antiquity.

The characters of the story were also known to the poet of *Widsith*. In l. 116 *Angantýr* and *Hlöd̥r* and perhaps *Sífka* appear again as *Incgenbeow* and *Hlīpe* and *Sífeca*, though the context seems to suggest that the last-named was a man. *Ormarr* is certainly the *Wyrmhære* of l. 119, and no doubt there is a reference to the Goths (*Hreðgotan*) in the *Hræda here* who are mentioned as occupying the forest on the Vistula (*Wistlawudu*) in l. 121. If this forest is to be identified with the *Myrkviðr* of our poem, as seems likely, the story probably refers to the struggle between the Goths and the Huns towards the close of the fourth century. It is to be noted that the *Ætlan leodum* of *Widsith* l. 122 may be merely a periphrasis for Huns².

Various attempts have been made to identify the battle. Rafn³ regarded it as identical with that described by Jordanes, ch. 17, as taking place between the Goths and the Gepidae, and held that the name of the River Aucha (Goth. *ahwa* 'river') appears in the first element of *Árheimar*. On the other hand Heinzel⁴ suggested the battle fought on the Catalaunian Plain in 451 A.D. between the Romans and Visigoths on the one hand and the Huns and Ostrogoths under Attila on the other. This view has been accepted by F. Jónsson⁵, Mogk⁶, Ólfrík⁷, etc.; but it is improbable, as Chambers⁸ points out, that the name of an unknown leader (*Humli*)

¹ Cf. 'Kilderne til Saksens Oldhistorie,' in *Aarb. f. Nord. Oldk. og Hist.* 1892, p. 180 f.

² Cf. V. Jagić, 'Slavisches in nordischen Sagen,' in *Archiv für Slavische Philologie*, Vol. xi, 1888, p. 308.

³ *Antiquités russes* (Copenhagen, 1850), Vol. i, p. 111 f.

⁴ 'Ueber die Hervararsaga,' p. 465 ff.

⁵ *Den Islandske Litteraturs Historie* (Copenhagen, 1907), p. 344.

⁶ *Geschichte der Norwegisch-Isländischen Literatur* (Strassburg, 1904), p. 838.

⁷ *Danmarks Heltedigtning* (Copenhagen, 1910), Vol. ii, p. 228.

⁸ *Widsith* (Cambridge, 1912), p. 48.

should have been substituted for that of the famous Attila who figures so largely in Teutonic tradition.

The name *Myrkviðr* means 'dark forest,' and may well be a general term for any part of the forest region of central Europe, or what we may perhaps call the traditional forest land of heroic poetry. I see no reason why it should not be used in this poem for the *Wistlawudu* of *Widsith*, which is mentioned in close connection with Wyrnhere (Ormarr) and which must be located in Poland. This would harmonise better than any locality in the West with the references to the Dniepr. It is worth noting too that the words *und Harvaða fjöllum*, which occur in a verse in ch. 12, just before the beginning of the poem, may preserve an early Teutonic form of the name of the Carpathians¹.

The fact that we cannot identify any of the characters from historical sources is natural enough, if the scene of the poem is to be placed in a part of Europe which was outside the horizon of Roman historians. It is commonly assumed by modern writers that the Goths evacuated their old home in the third century, when we first hear of them on the lower Danube. But there is no satisfactory evidence that these early movements of the Goths were due to anything more than an expansion, such as we find later, e.g. among the Franks and the Alamanni. It must be remembered that the Romans were as a rule aware only of movements in the neighbourhood of their own frontiers. Apart from vague rumours, they had no means of ascertaining whether a remote region had been evacuated. If the whole nation had migrated at this time, the remembrance of their old home would scarcely have been preserved in Anglo-Saxon poetry. The passage cited above from *Widsith* supplies definite evidence—the trustworthiness of which I see no

¹ This identification was suggested by Vigfusson (*Corp. Poet. Bor.*, Vol. 1, pp. 349, 352). Heinzel (*op. cit.*, p. 499) preferred to connect the name with the *Chorvati*, a Slavonic people who in later times—at least from the ninth century onwards, and probably much earlier—were settled on the northern side of the western Carpathians (cf. Zeuss, *Die Deutschen*, p. 621 f.; Jagić, *op. cit.*, p. 307); but the two identifications are not mutually exclusive, for the *Chorvati* may have obtained their name from the Teutonic form of the name for the mountains. For the explanation of the latter see Streitberg, *Urgermanische Grammatik* (Heidelberg, 1896), p. 136.

reason for doubting—that there was a Gothic population in Poland till at least towards the close of the fourth century. On the other hand, by the beginning of the sixth century the Slavs are found on the line between the Danube and the ‘peoples of the Danes¹,’ so that some time before this Poland must have ceased to be a Teutonic area. Moreover, as there is no reference to Attila, the events described in our poem are probably to be regarded as having taken place before his time. Several names in the poem are clearly old, e.g. *Danpar*, *Grýtingar*, and probably *Jössurr*, *Gizurr*, *Dylgja*². The presumption is that the story was dealt with in poetry at an early period, either by the Goths or some neighbouring people, and subsequently made its way to the North.

The only early (vellum) MSS. of the *Hervarar Saga* which have survived are the *Hauksbók* (H), *AM.* 544, which breaks off in ch. 11, and the *Codex Regius* (R), no. 2845 in the Royal Library at Copenhagen, which breaks off in str. 10 of our poem. From this point we are entirely dependent on paper MSS., dating for the most part from the seventeenth century. Of these *AM.* 192 (i), *AM.* 202 (k), *AM.* 582 (l) and *Salanska Saml.* 80 of the University Library at Upsala (u) all appear to be derived from a lost seventeenth century MS. This lost MS. appears to have used both H and R for the earlier chapters of the saga, and there is no reason for doubting that it did so also in the later parts which are now lost in the vellums. The relationship between i, k, and l is very close, and no doubt all three are derived from the lost seventeenth century MS. through a common intermediary. Again, k and l sometimes show points in common which differ from i, and k contains corrections made by the scribe himself as well as by Arni Magnússon. The fourth paper MS. (u) sometimes offers better readings than the other three, and sometimes shows textual corruptions not found in them. It is no doubt derived from the lost seventeenth century MS. through a different intermediary.

¹ Procopius, *Gothic War*, II, xv, 3.

² Cf. notes to these names, p. 198 ff. below.

A further MS., *Holm.* no. 120 (s), which belongs to the k, l group, contains additions and corrections from the hand of the Icclander Guðmundr Olafsson (†1695)¹.

According to S. Bugge², the remaining MSS. have no independent value. Their variant readings rarely merit consideration, and only as emendations. Such is *AM.* 345 (a), which Bugge holds is based on l or on a closely related MS., probably influenced by u. It is on this MS. that Rafn's text is based. The following text is, with the reservations stated below, substantially that of Bugge as published by him in *Norrøne Skrifter af Sagnhistorisk Indhold* (Christiania, 1873), though the text of Heusler and Ranisch³ has been consulted throughout. Bugge based his text as far as str. 10 on R, with occasional readings from the paper MSS. After R stops he made a text from a collation of the paper MSS., occasionally adding or transposing passages on the authority of other poems and of the prose of the saga. I have followed his text for the most part only in so far as it has the authority of the MSS. of the *Hervarar Saga*.

The metre may be described as a combination of *Fornyrðislag* and *Málahátt*, somewhat similar to what is found in the *Atlakviða* and the *Hamðismál*. As in these poems, there is a considerable amount of irregularity, half lines of three and six units being found. In the texts which have come down to us alliteration is frequently wanting, and in several cases it is doubtful whether passages should be printed as prose or verse (e.g. strophes 18, 26 ff.). The explanation may be either that the verses have been forgotten, or that the author of the saga was paraphrasing rather than quoting. Emendations based on metrical considerations are therefore better avoided⁴.

¹ For further details relating to the paper MSS. cf. Bugge, Introduction to his edition of *Hervarar Saga* in *Norrøne Skrifter af Sagnhistorisk Indhold* (Christiania, 1873); Heinzel, 'Ueber die Hervararsaga,' pp. 417—437; Heusler and Ranisch, *Eddica Minora* (Dortmund, 1903), p. vii f.

² *Loc. cit.*; cf. also Heinzel, *op. cit.*, p. 433; Heusler and Ranisch, *loc. cit.*

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 1 ff.

⁴ I have, however, in conformity with the plan adopted in the other pieces, followed Bugge and the other editors in giving the usual poetic forms instead of the late forms which frequently occur in the MSS.

THE BATTLE OF THE GOTHS AND THE HUNS

- 1 Ár kváðu Humla Húnum¹ ráða,
Gizur Gautum, Gotum Angantý²,
Valdar Dönum, en Völum Kíar³
Alrek⁴ enn frækna⁵ Enskri þjóðu.
- 2 Hlöðr vas þar⁶ borinn í Húnalandi⁷
saxi ok með⁸ sverði, síðri⁹ brynju,
hjalmi¹⁰ hringreifðum, hvössum¹¹ mæki,
mari vel tömum¹², á mörk enni helgu.
- 3 Hlöðr reið austan¹³, Heiðreks arfi¹⁴,
kom hann¹⁵ at garði þar es Gotar¹⁶ byggja
á Árheima, arfs at kveðja¹⁷,
þar drakk Angantýr erfi Heiðreks¹⁸.
- 4 Segg fann hann úti fyrir sal hávum,
ok síðförlan síðan kvaddi:
'Inn gakktu, seggr, í sal hávan,
bið mér Angantý andspjöll bera.'
- Sá gekk inn fyrir konungsborð ok kvaddi Angantý
konung vel, ok mælti síðan:
- 5 'Hér es Hlöðr¹⁹ kominn Heiðreks arfþegi²⁰,
bróðir þinn enn beðskammi²¹;
mikill es sá maðr mjök²² á marsbaki;
vill nú, þjóðann²³, við þik tala.'
- 6 Rymr vas í ranni; risu með góðum,
vildi hverr heyra hvat²⁴ Hlöðr mælti,
ok þau²⁵ es Angantýr andsvör veitti.

¹ s; the rest *fir* (*firir*) *her*.² *Angantýr*, a, i, k, l.³ *Kíar* R, i; *Völum Akjar* a.⁴ *Álfrek* s; *Álfrekur* i, k, l; *Alrekr* R.⁵ s; *frækni* the rest.⁶ R, i; *þá* k, l, a; om. s.⁷ R, s; *Humla landi* i, k, l, a.⁸ om. s. ⁹ *ok með síðri* s.¹⁰ R, i; om. a, s. ¹¹ *ok hvössum* a, k, l, s. ¹² R, i; *tömðum* a, k, l, s.¹³ R, i; *utan* a, k, l, s; *sunmann* u.¹⁴ So all mss. according to Bugge; *mögr* R (*Rafn*). ¹⁵ R; om. the rest.¹⁶ R; cf. also prose *Gotum Angantýr*; *Gautar* a, i, k, l, s.¹⁷ R, i; *kvefja* a, k, l, s.¹⁸ s; *erfi Heiðreks konungs* the rest.¹⁹ *Hlöðverr* a, k, l.²⁰ R; *arfi* u.²¹ *beðskam(m)i* R, i; *beðrammi* a, k (?), l, s; *bandskai* (for *bauðskái*, Bugge) u.²² a, i, k, l; *mögr* u; *ungr* R.²³ R; *þjóðas* a, i, k, l.²⁴ *hvat er* a; *þat er* s.²⁵ em. Bugge; *þat* mss.

THE BATTLE OF THE GOTHS AND THE HUNS

Stanzaic.
It's noted
beginning Ax

1 Long ago, according to the story, Humli ruled the Huns, Gizurr the Gautar, Angantýr the Goths, Valdarr the Danes, and Kíarr the Valar, while Alrekr the Bold ruled the English nation.

2 Hlöðr was born in the land of the Huns in a holy forest, with cutlass and with sword, with ample coat of mail, with treasure-decked helmet, with keen blade, and with well-trained stéed.

3 Hlöðr, Heiðrekr's heir, rode from the east, till he came to Árheimar, to the court where the Goths dwell, to demand his inheritance. There Angantýr was holding Heiðrekr's funeral feast.

4 Outside the lofty hall he met a man who had arrived late, and thereupon addressed him :

‘Enter, sir, the high hall and bid Angantýr hold parley with me.’

Messenger

He entered and stood before Angantýr's table and saluted the King, saying :

5 ‘Thy base-born brother Hlöðr, Heiðrekr's heir, has come hither. Very mighty is the man as he sits on his steed. It is his wish that he may speak with thee forthwith, O King.’

6 A clamour arose in the hall. They stood up with the hero ; everyone was anxious to hear what Hlöðr had said and the answer which Angantýr would give.

Ðá mælti Angantýr: 'Vel þú kominn, Hlöðr bróðir¹; gakk inn með oss til drykkju, ok drekkum mjöð eftir föður okkarn fyrst til sama ok öllum oss til vegs með öllum várum sóma.' Hlöðr segir: 'Til annars fóru vér hingat, enn at kýla vömb vára²'; þá kvað Hlöðr:

- 7 'Hafa vil ek halft alt³ þat es Heiðrekr átti,
al³ ok af oddi, einum skatti,
kú ok af kalfi, kvern þjótandi,
þý ok af þraeli ok þeira barni⁴.
- 8 'hrís þat et⁵ mæra⁶ es Myrkviðr heitir⁷,
gröf þá ena helgu⁸ es stendr á Gotþjóðu⁹,
stein þann enn fagra¹⁰ es stendr¹¹ á stöðum Danpar¹²,
halfar herváðir¹³ þær¹⁴ es Heiðrekr átti,
lönd¹⁵ ok lýða¹⁶ ok ljósa¹⁷ bauga.'

Angantýr kvað:

- 9 'Bresta¹⁸ mun¹⁹, bróðir, en blikhvíta rönd²⁰,
ok kaldr geirr koma við annan²¹,
ok margr gumi í gras hníga,
áðr enn²² Tyrfing í tvau²³ deilak²⁴
eða þér, Humlungr, halfan arf gefak²⁵.
- 10 'Býð ek þér, frændi²⁶, fagrar veigar²⁷,
fé ok²⁸ fjölð meiðma²⁹, sem þik³⁰ fremst tíðir;
tólf hundruð gef ek þér manna, tólf hundruð gef
ek þér mara,
tólf hundruð gef ek þér skalka, þeira es skjöld bera.

¹ v. þ. k. vel þú verir i, k, l.

² om. a.

³ R; af al a, i, k, l, s, u.

⁴ R; börnum a, i, k, l, s.

⁵ R; hrísi þú enu i, k, l, u, a (hinu l, a).

⁶ i; meira R; mæta a, k, l, u.

⁷ Myrkviðir heita R; -ur heita i, l; -ur heitir u.

⁸ a, i, k, l, u; enu góðu R.

⁹ em. from str. 12; Götu þjóðar R; Goðþjóðu i, u; götþjóða l; götu þjóðar k; götu þjóða a.

¹⁰ a, i, k, l, u; meira R.

¹¹ R, a.

¹² u; Damp aar R. ¹³ R; herborgir a, i, k, l, s. ¹⁴ R; om. a, i, k, l, u.

¹⁵ landa (-i u) a, i, k, l, u.

¹⁶ om. ok lýða R.

¹⁷ R, i; ljósra a.

¹⁸ R, a, u, l; bera i, k.

¹⁹ a, i, k, l; mun áðr u; mun fyr R.

²⁰ s; lind en blikhvíta R; en blikhvíta lind u; minn blikhvíta hönd a, i, k, l.

²¹ em. Bugge; annat i, k, l; randir a; ok...annan om. R.

²² a, i, k, l; er u. ²³ R; i mitt a, i, k, l. ²⁴ deila R; a, i, k, l; deili u.

²⁵ i, k; gefa l, u; ek mun Humlung halfan láta eða Tyrfing i tvau deila R.

²⁶ R; ek mun bjóða þér, the rest.

²⁷ til heilla sátta R.

²⁸ mikit ríki ok ærit fé, xii hundruð vápnadrá R; ek vil etc. s.

²⁹ s; meiðna a, i, k, l, u.

³⁰ em. Bugge; mik a, i, k,

Then Angantýr spoke :

‘Thou art welcome, Hlöðr, my brother; enter and take part in our feast. Let us first drink mead in honour of our father’s memory, and to the glory of us all with full ceremony.’

Hlöðr replied :

‘We are come hither for a different purpose than to fill our stomachs.’

Then he said :

7 ‘I will have half of all that Heiðrekr owned—of his tools *cf. catalogue of catalogues* and weapons, his undivided hoard, cows and calves and *treasures in* the murmuring handmill, slavewoman and bondman, and their children with them.

8 ‘I will have half the noble forest which is called Myrkviðr, the holy tombs which stand among the people of the Goths, the beautiful stones which stand at Danpr’s abode, the raiment of battle which Heiðrekr owned, his lands and liegemen and his glittering treasures.’

Angantýr replied :

9 ‘The gleaming-white shield will be cloven, my brother, *Attempt to prevent* and cold spear will clash with spear, and many a man *Alternative* will sink to the grass before I will divide Tyrfing in two, *the sword* or give thee the half of the patrimony, thou child of Humli. *who was strong & told us*

10 ‘I offer thee, my kinsman, beautiful goblets, cattle and abundance of jewels, whatsoever thou most desirest. Twelve hundred men will I give thee, twelve hundred steeds will I give thee, twelve hundred squires will I give thee, such as bear the shield.

- 11 'Manni¹ gef ek hverjum mart at þiggja
annat² æðra enn hann áðr á³;
mey gef ek hverjum manni at þiggja,
meyju spennu ek hverri men at halsi⁴.
12 'Mun ek um⁵ þik sitjanda silfri mæla,
enn ganganda þik⁶ gulli steypa,
svá⁷ á vega⁸ alla velti baugar;
þriðjung Gotþjóðar⁹ því skaltu einn¹⁰ ráða.'

Gizurr Grýtingaliði, fóstri Heiðreks konungs, vas þá með Angantý konungi; hann vas þá ofrgamall; ok es hann heyrði boð Angantýs konungs, þótti honum hann ofmikitt þjóða, ok mælti:

- 13 'Þetta es þiggjanda¹⁰ þýjar¹¹ barni¹²,
barni¹² þýjar¹¹ þótt¹³ sé borinn konungi¹⁴.
þá hornungr¹⁵ á haugi sat,
es¹⁶ öðlingr arfi skifti.'

Hlöðr reiddist nú mjök, er hann vas þýbarn ok hornungr kallaðr, ef hann þægi boð bróður síns; snöri hann þá þegar í brott með alla sína menn, til þess es hann kom heim í Húnaland til Humla konungs, móðurföður síns; ok sagði honum at Angantýr bróðir hans hafði [eigi] unnt honum helmingaskiftis. Humli konungr spurði alt tal þeira; varð hann þá reiðr mjök, ef Hlöðr dótturson hans skyldi am-báttarson heita, ok mælti:

- 14 'Sitja skulum¹⁷ vér í vetr ok sællega lifa,
drekka ok dæma dýrar veigar;
kenna Húnum¹⁸ hervápn¹⁹ búa,
þau es djarfliga skulum fram bera.
15 'Vel skulu vér²⁰, Hlöðr, herlið búa,
ök rammlega²¹ hildi heyja²²
með tólfvetra²³ mengi ok tvævetrum fola,
svá skal Húna her um safna.'

¹ manni...á om. k. ² ll. 2, 3 om. a. ³ em. Bugge; á nýðri i, l; áráðri u.
⁴ mæn spennu ek mri at halsi u. ⁵ om. a, k, l. ⁶ om. i, k, l. ⁷ so at k.
⁸ u; vega a, i, k, l. ⁹ k; Gotþjóðar (Gód- l) i, l; god þjóða u.
¹⁰ þiggjandi l, u. ¹¹ em. Bugge; þýar mss. l. 1; þýjar l, l. 2. ¹² barni u.
¹³ i; ok þótt k, l, u. ¹⁴ konungr a, i, k, l. ¹⁵ Humlungur a. ¹⁶ enn s, a.
¹⁷ skulu u. ¹⁸ hvörjum u. ¹⁹ s; vápn at búa the rest. ²⁰ k, l, a; þer i;
vér þér u. ²¹ s; rammlegar a, k, l; framlega u; frantliga i. ²² u; hildir
hey(j)a a, i, k, l. ²³ i, s; xii var gömlum u; vetra gömlu k, l, a.

- 11 'I will give to every man a bounteous gift, finer than anything that he had before; I will give to each man a maiden as a gift, and round every maiden's throat I will clasp a necklace.
- 12 'As thou sittest I will encase thee in silver, and as thou walkest I will cover thee with rings of gold so that they will roll in all directions, and thereby shalt thou have a third part of the Gothic nation under thine own sway.'

Gizurr, a liegeman from the Grýtingar, King Heiðrekr's foster-father, was then with King Angantýr. He was a very old man at that time. And when he heard King Angantýr's offer, he thought that he was offering too much, and said:

- 13 'This is indeed an offer for a bondwoman's child, for a bondwoman's child, even though his father was a king. When the prince divided his inheritance the illegitimate son was sitting on the mound.'

Hlöðr now grew very angry at being called the child of a bondwoman and an illegitimate son, if he accepted his brother's offer; so he departed at once with all his men and returned home to King Humli, his mother's father, in the land of the Huns. And he told Humli that Angantýr his brother had not granted him an equal share. King Humli enquired as to all that had passed between them, and was very angry that Hlöðr, the son of his daughter, should be called the son of a bondmaid, and he said:

- 14 'We will stay at home for the winter and take our joy of life. We will quaff the costly draughts and we will hold council together. We will instruct the Huns to prepare the weapons of war which we shall bravely carry to battle.
- 15 'Nobly will we array a host of warriors, O Hlöðr, and manfully will we offer battle, with troops from the age of twelve years, with steeds from the age of two years—even thus shall the host of the Huns be assembled.'

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> CHALLENGE

Þenna vetr sátu þeir Humli konungr ok Hlöðr um kyrt um várit drógu þeir her saman svá mikinn at aleyða vas eftir í Húnalandi vígra manna....Enn fimm þúsundir [váru] í hverja fylking, þeira er þrettán hundruð váru í hverri þúsund, enn í hvert hundruð fernir fjórir tígir; enn þessar fylkingar váru þrjár ok þrír tígir. Sem þessi herr kom saman riðu þeir skóg þann, es Myrkviðr heitir, es skilr Húnaland ok Gotaland. Enn sem þeir kómu af skóginum, þá váru bygðir stórar ok vellir sléttir, enn á völlum stóð borg ein fögr; þar réð fyrir Hervör, systir Angantýs ok Hlöðs, ok með henni Ormarr fóstri hennar; váru þau sett þar til landgæzlu fyrir her Húna; höfðu þau þar mikit lið.

Þat var einn morgun um sólar upprás, at Hervör stóð upp á kastala einum yfir borgarhliði; hun sá jóreyki stóra suðr til skógarins, svá löngum fal sólina; því næst sá hun glóa undir jóreyknum, sem á gull eitt liti, fagra skjöldu ok gulli lagða, gylta hjalma ok hvítar brynjur. Sá hun þá at þetta vas Húna herr ok mikill mannfjöldi. Hervör gekk ofan skyndilega ok kallar lúðrsvein sinn ok bað blása saman lið. Ok síðan mælti Hervör: 'Takið vápn yður ok búizt til orrostu, enn þú, Ormarr, rið í mót Húnum ok bjóð þeim orrostu fyrir borgarhliði enu syðra.' Ormarr kvað:

- 16 'Skal ek víst ríða ok rönd bera
Gota¹ þjóðum, gunni at heyja.'

Þá reið Ormarr af borginni mót Húnum; hann kallaði þá hátt, bað þá ríða til borgarinnar ok mælti: 'Úti fyrir borgarhliðinu suðr á völlum þar býð ek yðr orrostu.'... Enn með því at Húnar hafa lið miklu meira, snóri mannfallinu í lið þeira Hervarar; ok um síðir fell Hervör ok mikit lið umhverfis hana. Enn es Ormarr sá fall hennar, flýði hann ok allir þeir es lífit þágu....Ok sem Ormarr kom fyrir Angantý konung, þá kvað hann:

- 17 'Sunnan em ek kominn at segja spjöll þessi:
Sviðin es öll mörk² ok Myrkviðar heiðr³,
drifinn öll Gotþjóð gumna blóði.

¹ k; *Gauta* i, l, s, u; *Gauta kindum* (for *G. þj.*) a.

² s; *myrk* u; *mörk* ok om. a, i, k, l.

³ *heiði* i, k, l, s; *heiður* u.

That winter King Humli and Hlöðr remained quiet; but the following spring they collected such a large army that the land of the Huns was swept bare of fighting men....And there were five 'thousand' in each legion, each 'thousand' containing thirteen 'hundreds,' and each 'hundred' four times forty men; and these legions were thirty-three in number.

When these troops had assembled, they rode through the forest which was called Myrkviðr, and which separated the land of the Huns from that of the Goths. And when they emerged from the forest, they came upon a thickly inhabited country with level fields; and in these plains there was a fair fortress. It was under the command of Hervör, the sister of Angantýr and Hlöðr, and Ormarr her foster-father was with her. They had been appointed to defend the land against the host of the Huns, and they had a large army there.

It happened one morning at sunrise that as Hervör was standing on the summit of a tower over the gate of the fortress, she looked southwards towards the forest, and saw clouds of dust arising from a great body of horse, by which the sun was hidden for a long time. Next she saw a gleam beneath the dust, as though she were gazing on a mass of gold—fair shields overlaid with gold, gilded helmets and white corslets. Then she perceived that it was the host of the Huns coming on in vast numbers. She descended hastily and called her trumpeter, and bade him sound the assembly.

Then said Hervör: 'Take your weapons and arm for battle; and do thou, Ormarr, ride against the Huns and offer them battle before the Southern Gate.' Ormarr replied:
16 'I will certainly take my shield, and ride with the troops of the Goths to give battle.'

Then Ormarr rode out of the fortress against the Huns. He called loudly, bidding them ride up to the fort, saying: 'Outside the gate of the fortress, in the plains to the south—there will I offer you battle.'...But the host of the Huns was far superior in numbers, so that Hervör's troops began to suffer heavy losses; and in the end Hervör fell, and a great part of her army round about her.

And when Ormarr saw her fall, he fled with all those who still survived....And when he came into the presence of King Angantýr, he cried:

17 'I am come from the south, and this is the news which I have to offer. The whole of the woodland and forest of Myrkviðr is ablaze and all the land of the Goths is drenched with the blood of men.'

surprise also

cf. Byrhtnoth's letter, superior forces into a position for fight

Mont in
Hinnung

- 18 'Mey veit ek Heiðreks...
 systur þína svigna til jarðar,
 hafa Húnar hana felda,
 ok marga aðra yðra þegna.
- 19 'Léttari görðist hun at böðvi¹ enn við biðil ræða
 eða í bekk at fara at brúðar gangi².'

Angantýr konungr, þá es hann heyrði þetta, brá hann grönnum, ok tók seint til orða, ok mælti þetta um síðir: 'Óbróðurlega vastu leikin, en ágæta systir,' ok síðan leit hann yfir hirð sína, ok vas ekki mart lið með honum; hann kvað þá:

- 20 'Mjök váru³ vér margir es vér mjöð drukkum,
 nú erum⁴ vér færi⁵ es vér fleiri skyldum.
- 21 'Sékkat ek þann í mínu liði,
 þótt ek biðja⁶ ok baugum kaup⁷,
 es muni ríða ok⁸ rönd bera,
 ok þeira⁹ Húna herlið finna¹⁰.'

Gizurr gamli sagði:

- 22 'Ek mun þar¹¹ einskis eyris krefja,
 ne skjallanda¹² skarfs ór gulli;
 þó mun ek ríða ok¹³ rönd bera,
 Húna¹⁴ þjóðum her staf¹⁵ bjóða.'

Gizurr herklæddist með góðum vápnnum, ok hljóp á hest sinn, sem ungr væri; þá mælti hann til konungs:

- 23 'Hvar skal ek Húnum hervíg kenna?'

Angantýr konungr kvað:

- 24 'Kendu at¹⁶ Dylgju¹⁷ ok á Dúnheiði,
 ok á þeim öllum Jössurfjöllum¹⁸;

¹ em. Bugge; *littare görðisk hón á hauðre* i, k, l (*littre* l); om. (l.) u and at badni. ² ad leik i sarā en ad lūd geingu u. ³ vorum i. ⁴ i; eru l.

⁵ færri a.

⁶ biði a.

⁷ kaupi a.

⁸ em. Bugge; i mss.

⁹ þeir a, i, l; om. k.

¹⁰ bera u.

¹¹ i, k, l; þik u.

¹² em. Bugge; *skjalldanda* u; *skulldanda* a, i, k, l.

¹³ em. Bugge; i a, i, k, l, u. ¹⁴ a, i, k, l; *gotta* u.

¹⁵ k; *gunni at* a, i, l, u (*ad*). ¹⁶ á a, i, k, l; *ad* u. ¹⁷ a, k; *Dilgiu* l, u.

¹⁸ *Iosur-* i; *Iassar-* u; *Iossar-* a; *Ióssár-* k; *Ióssar-* l? *Iassa-* s.

18 'I have certain knowledge that thy sister, King Heiðrekr's daughter..., has fallen lifeless. The Huns have laid her low, and many of your warriors with her.

19 'More readily did she make ready for battle than to talk with a wooer or to take her seat at the bridal feast.'

When King Angantýr heard that he drew back his lips, and it was some time before he spoke. Then he said: 'In no brotherly wise hast thou been treated, my noble sister!'

Then he surveyed his retinue, and his band of men was but small; then he said:

20 'When we were drinking mead we were a great host, but now when we should be many our numbers are few.

21 'I do not see a single man in my host who, even if I were to beg him and offer him a rich reward, would take his shield and ride to seek out the host of the Huns.'

Challenge
Offer (by v)
in the Male

Gizurr the old said:

22 'I will not ask a single ounce or ringing piece of gold; yet I will take my shield and ride to challenge the troops of the Huns to battle.'

Gizurr armed himself with good weapons and leapt on his horse as if he had been a young man. Then he cried to the King:

23 'Where shall I challenge the Huns to battle?'

King Angantýr replied:

24 'Challenge them to battle at Dylgja and on Dúnheiðr and on all the mountains of Jössurr, where the Goths

þar¹ oft Gotar gunni² háðu,
ok fagran sigr frægir vágu³.

Nú reið Gizurr í brott ok þar til, es hann kom í her
Húna; hann reið eigi nær enn svá at hann mátti tala við
þá; þá kallar hann hári röddu ok kvað:

25 'Felmtr⁴ es yðru⁵ fylki, feigr es yðarr⁵ vísir,
gnæfar yðr gunnfani, gramr es⁶ yðr⁷ Óðinn.

26 'Byð ek yðr at⁸ Dylgju⁹ ok á Dúnheiði
orrostu undir Jösurfjöllum¹⁰;
hræse yður¹¹ at há hvorju¹²,
ok láti svá Óðinn flein fljúga sem ek fyrir mæli.'

Þá es Hlöðr hafði heyrt orð Gizurar, þá kvað hann:

27 'Takið es¹³ Gizur, mann Angantýs, kominn af¹⁴
Árheimum.'

Humli konungr sagði:

28 'Eigi skulum¹⁵ árum spilla, þeim es fara einir saman.'

...Gizurr drap þá hest sinn sporum ok reið á fund
Angantýs konungs ok gekk fyrir hann ok kvaddi hann
vel. Konungr spyr hvárt hann hefði fundit Húna.
Gizurr mælti: 'Talaða ek við þá, ok stefnda ek þeim á
vígvoll á Dúnheiði ok at Dylgjudöllum.' Angantýr spyr
hvat mikit lið Húnar hafa. Gizurr mælti: 'Mikit es þeira
mengi.

29 Sex¹⁶ ein eru seggja fylki¹⁷,
í fylki hverju fimm þúsundir¹⁸,
í þúsund hverri¹⁹ þrettán hundruð²⁰,
í hundraði hverju halir²¹ fjórtaldir.'

Á öðrum degi hófu þeir sína orrostu; ok börðust allan
þann dag ok fóru at kveldi í herbúðir sínar. Þeir börðust

¹ So Verelius; *bar* u; *baru* i; *báru* a, k, l.

² So Verelius; *ok geir* a, i, k, l; *gū* u.

³ u; *fngo* k; *feingu* a, i, l; *unnu* cod. 582.

⁴ a; *feltur* the rest. ⁵ em. Bugge; *yðar* mss.

⁷ u, l; om. i, k.

⁸ a, i, l, u; *á* k.

⁹ cf. str. 24.

⁶ om. i, k, l.

¹⁰ cf. str. 24.

¹¹ i; *hræsi* a; *hræsu* l; *hro si* u; om. k.

¹² i, l, a; *at hai hvorium* u; om. k.

¹³ em. Bugge, *Take* (or *taki*) *þier* mss.

¹⁴ a, i, l, u; *úr* k.

¹⁵ *skulu* u.

¹⁶ This strophe as in u; cf. Saxo, p. 191.

¹⁷ *vc eru i fylki* i, k, l; *fimtán*

eru fylki seggja s. ¹⁸ *þúsund* a, i, k, l.

¹⁹ *i hv. þ.* a, i, k, l; *þ* om. u.

²⁰ *þr. hun. manna* a, i, l, u.

²¹ u; *háls* i; *hálf* a, k, l.

have often given battle, and gained a glorious victory to their renown.'

Then Gizurr rode away until he came to the host of the Huns. He rode just within earshot, and then called loudly, crying:

25 'Your host is panic-stricken, your leader is doomed; the standards are raised against you; Othin is wroth with you! *add this = using gun*

26 'I challenge you to battle at Dylgja, and on Dúnheiðr, under the mountains of Jössurr. May every battlefield be covered with your corpses, and may Othin let the javelin fly according to my words!'

When Hlöðr heard Gizurr's words, he cried:

27 'Lay hold on Gizurr, Angantýr's man, who has come from Árheimar.'

King Humli said:

28 'We must not injure heralds who travel unattended.'

...Then Gizurr struck spurs into his horse and rode back to King Angantýr and went up to him and saluted him. The King asked him if he had parleyed with the Huns.

Gizurr replied:

'I spoke with them and I challenged them to meet us on the battlefield of Dúnheiðr and in the valleys of Dylgja.'

Angantýr asked how big the army of the Huns was.

Gizurr replied: 'Great is their host.'

29 There are in all six "legions" of warriors, and in every "legion" five "thousands," in every "thousand" thirteen "hundreds," and in every "hundred" a quadruple number of men.'

Next day they began the battle; and they fought together the whole day, and at evening they went to *v. brief del of technique Finnsburg*

this is a summary

svá átta daga...Ðar fell Hlöðr ok Humli konungr, ok þá tóku Húnar at flýja....Angantýr gekk þá at kanna valinn ok fann Hlöð bróður sinn. þá kvað hann:

- 30 'Bauð ek þér, bróðir, basmir¹ óskerðar²,
fé ok fjölð meiðma³, sem þik⁴ fremst tíddi⁵;
nú hefir þú hvárki hildar at gjöldum,
ljósa bauga, né land ekki.
- 31 'Bölvat es okkr, bróðir; bani em ek þinn orðinn;
þat mun æ uppi; illr er dómr Norna.'

Angantýr vas lengi konungr í Reiðgotalandi; hann vas ríkr ok örr ok hermaðr mikill, ok eru frá honum komnar konunga ættir.

¹ So Verelius; *basnir* u; *brynjur* s; om. i, k, l.

² *óskertar* (for *óskerðar*) u; *ósker tvær* a, i, k, l.

³ *meidma* s; *meidna* a, i, k, l, u.

⁴ em. Bugge; *mik* a, i, l, u; *þú* k.

⁵ i, u; *tíð* i a, l; *tíðir* s; *girtist* k.

their quarters. They continued fighting for eight days....
There fell Hlöðr and King Humli, and then the Huns took to flight....Angantýr then went to search among the slain, and found his brother Hlöðr. Then he cried:

cf Finn Fag
odd so little
of the 3x

30 'I offered thee unstinted wealth, my brother, riches and vast treasure to the limit of thy desires; but now thou hast won by thy warfare neither shining rings nor territory.

31 'A curse has been laid upon us, my brother; I have brought about thy death. This will never be forgotten.—Evil is the decree of the Norns.'

5?

Angantýr ruled Reiðgotaland as king for a long time. He was powerful and munificent and a great warrior, and lines of kings are sprung from him.

NOTES

I. THE WANDERER

1. *Are gebideð*. A possible alternative translation would be, 'The solitary man always lives to experience mercy,' etc. So Grein, Thorpe, etc. But it is difficult to reconcile this translation of *gebideð* with l. 5.

4. *Hrimcealde*, a ἄπ. λεγ., lit., probably 'cold as rime,' but possibly 'made cold by rime,' i.e. frost. The word occurs three times in Norse poetry, where it is applied to supernatural beings. Cf. *Vafþrúðnismál*, str. 21; *Fáfnismál*, str. 38; *Lokasenna*, str. 49, 50.

5. *Wyrð bið ful aræd*. *Aræd* is perhaps adj.; but the word is very rare, and the evidence as to its meaning somewhat doubtful: see B. and T., Suppl. s.v. For the sense, cf. *Beowulf*, l. 455; *Gripperspá*, str. 52: *Munat sköpum vinna*.

6. *Swa* probably refers to what follows rather than to what has gone before.

7. *Winmæga hryre*, perhaps lit. 'Through the fall of his dear kinsmen.' As the text stands, *hryre* can hardly be taken otherwise than as a loose causal or comitative instrumental. For other explanations, cf. Kock, *Lunds Universitets Årsskrift*, 1918, p. 78; Jacobsen, *The Wanderer* (Rostock, 1901), p. 82; Wyatt, *Anglo-Saxon Reader* (Cambridge, 1919), p. 263.

13. *Þæt he*, etc., lit. 'that he fasten securely the closet of his thoughts and keep his treasure chamber.' Thorpe placed a period after *hordcofan* and continues: *Hyge swa he wille, ne mæg*, etc.

17. *Domgeorne*. Cf. *Hávamál*, str. 77. The same idea is frequently expressed in *Beowulf*.

dreorigne, sc. *hyge*, lit. 'When it is depressed,' etc. Cf. *Fragment of a Monitory Poem* (Grein-Wülcker, *Bibliothek*, II, 2, p. 280), l. 2:

þinne dom arær;
heald hordlocan, hyge fæste bind, etc.

It is not clear whether reserve or caution is intended. Cf. however the word *durre*, l. 10. The same doubt arises in *Hávamál*, str. 15:

Þagalt ok hugalt skyli þjófans barn
ok vígdjarft vesa.

It is much easier to find parallels for injunctions to caution than to reserve, e.g. *Fæder Larcvidas*, ll. 57, 58. Cf. also the instructions to the councillor in Budge, *The Literature of the Egyptians* (London, 1914), p. 227 f.: 'If thou art a wise man, and if thou hast a seat in the council-chamber of thy lord...keep silence, for this is better than to talk over-much....Think much, but keep thy mouth closed: if thou dost not, how canst thou consult with the nobles?'

22. *Goldwine minne*. If the ms. reading were kept, *goldwine mine* would be best taken as poet. pl. for sing., which is extremely common in A.S. and Norse poetry. The emendation to *minne* however (Thorpe) is very slight. For this passage and what follows cf. *Guplac*, l. 1325 ff.

23. *Hrusan heolster biwrah*. So edd. An emendation seems necessary. If *heolstre* is kept either *hruse* must be read for *hrusan* or *ie* added. Cf. *Blick. Hom.* (ed. R. Morris, E.E.T.S. 1880), VII, p. 95: 'peah þe

hie ær eorþe bewrigen hæfde'; Wulfstan (ed. A. Napier, Berlin, 1883), p. 183: 'Swa hwæt manncynnes swa eorþe ær forswealh.'

24. *Wintercearig*. See B. and T. *s.v.*, where an alternative explanation ('Sad from age') is suggested. The compound occurs only here, and its meaning is quite doubtful. Imelmann omits in his translation (1920). Cf. *earncearig*, *Seafarer*, l. 14.

gebind, in Ælfric's glossary translates L. *strictura*. Cf. Goth. *gabinda*, 'a band.' B. and T. translate 'Over the watery band,' i.e. the surface of the water. Grein translates *strictura*, *ligatura*, *fasciculus*, and compares *Beowulf*, l. 1133. According to the *N.E.D.* (cf. *Bind* n. 6) the word 'bind' is used provincially to denote a (large) quantity of anything. Cf. also B. and T., *Suppl. s.v.*

27. *Min mine wisse*. The second half verse of l. 27 is metrically defective if the ms. reading is kept. Some editors suggest *miltse*, but the omission of *min* as suggested by Klaeber is more easy to account for. For the phrase *mine* (i.e. *myne*) *wisse*, cf. *Beowulf*, l. 169: *ne his myne wisse*, i.e. He had not been able to approach the throne (like a member of the court) and (therefore) felt no regard for it.

29. *Wenian mid wynnum*. Cf. *Heliand*, ll. 2818, 2832; *Beowulf*, l. 1821. It is not actually certain in the ms. whether *wenian* or *weman* is the true reading. Thorpe, Ettmüller and Grein² have adopted the latter, 'entice me with good cheer.' Cf. B. and T. *s.v.*

31. *Lyt...leofra geholena*. For *lyt* with a personal genitive cf. *Beowulf*, ll. 2150, 2836; *Be Manna Wyrðum*, l. 30 f.

32. *Warað hine*, lit. '(The thought of) his exile possesses him.' Cf. *Heliand*, l. 1003.

34. *Selesecgas*; so Thorpe, Ettmüller, Grein², Sweet, Sieper, Schücking, Imelmann. Several editors, however (e.g. Rieger, Wülcker), read *sele, secgas*. *Sele-secg* does not occur elsewhere. Similar compounds, e.g. *seld-guma*, *sele-begn*, are found however.

35. *His goldwine*, etc. For this conception of the function of a lord cf. *Be Manna Wyrðum*, l. 27 f. Cf. also *The Wonders of Creation*, l. 91 ff.

37. *Wat se þe sceal*, etc. *Wat* is repeated from l. 29; the object is to be inferred from the preceding passage.

41. *Pinceð him on mode*, etc. Is *þynceð...breac* introduced as a parenthesis? I have translated it as the main sentence, because l. 45 appears to contain an anacoluthon; i.e. the sentence *þonne onwæcneð*, etc. is not a true correlative to l. 39 ff.

43. *Swa...breac*. This passage probably refers to some act of homage, such as the sword oath. In the *Norges Gamle Love* (ed. Keyser and Munch, 1848), Vol. II, p. 422 f., it is stated that the king (of Norway) is to sit on his high seat with his sword on his knees, the blade under his arm and the hilt on his right knee, and to take hold of it with his right hand. He who intends to enter the *hirð* is to advance, kneel on the floor, and with his right hand grasp the sword by the hilt, hold it downwards in front of him, then kiss the king's hand and swear allegiance. But in the *Wanderer* the reference is perhaps rather to the reception of any gift from the king, since it is not clear that *brucan* (cf. l. 44) can be used inceptively. Cf. further L. M. Larson, *American Historical Review*, Vol. 13 (1907-8), p. 461, footnote 1; F. Tupper, *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, Vol. II, 1912, pp. 97 ff.; 292.

44. *Giefstolas*, prob. gen. sing.; the ending *-as* for *-es* is not unknown in late MSS. Possibly however acc. pl. (poet. pl. for sing.), since *brucan* is occasionally followed by the acc. Sweet and others emend to *-es*.

45. *Wineleas guma*. The word *wineleas* perhaps suggests a closer connection with the preceding lines than can be conveyed in a modern translation, for *wine* is especially used for a man's lord.

46. *Wegas*, for W.S. *wægas*(æ). The form perhaps comes from an earlier text written before the W.S. type of language had come into general literary use. Cf. l. 64 n.

47. *Brædan febra*, or perhaps 'preening their feathers.'

50. *Sare* may be causal instrumental of the substv. or nom. pl. of the adj. agreeing with *benne*. The latter is the more usual construction. Gr. Kôh. take it as an adverb.

51. *Geondhweorfeð*. The prefix *geond-* here and throughout the poem appears to be used in a somewhat unusual sense to mark the exhaustive nature of the verb; cf. *geondscearweð*, l. 52; *geondþence*, l. 60. Cf. also l. 58 n.

52. *Gliwstafum*, a ἄπ. λεγ., the meaning of which is very uncertain. B. and T., Sweet, Schücking, Imelmann, transl. 'joyfully,' Gr. Kôh. *signum lætitiæ*. Thorpe transl. 'with song,' Gollancz 'with snatches of song.' (Cf. *cwidegiedda*, l. 55 below.) The word *gleo* is generally used in the sense of 'music.' In the Epinal Gloss. 398 *gliu* glosses *facetiæ* and in *ib.* 550 in *gliwuae* glosses *in mimo*. The word does not occur in the other Teutonic languages except in Norse, where it is rare. Cf. *Hamðismál*, str. 7.

53. *Seega geseldan*, lit. 'the companions of warriors.' The phrase does not occur elsewhere, but seems to be analogous to *ylda* (*fira*) *bearn*(um), *Beowulf* pass., lit. 'children of men,' i.e. men; *Denigea leode*, *Beo.* l. 696, *Sceotta leoda*, 'Men of the Scots,' *Battle of Brunanburh*, l. 11. We may cf. *under swegles begong* (*Beo.* l. 860) beside *under swegle* (*Beo.* l. 1078) with the same meaning. These expressions may be regarded as compounds in sense, just as much as *þeodnæs dohtor* (*Husband's Message*, l. 25), but unlike the latter, they are compounds in which the meaning of the whole differs but little from that of the word which occurs in the genitive.

54. *Fleotendra ferð*, poetic sing. for pl.

58. *Geond þas woruld*. Cf. l. 51 n. The literal meaning appears to be 'I cannot think (however extensively I search) throughout this world (of any reason) why my heart,' etc.; and the entire phrase comes simply to denote the exhaustive nature of the action expressed by the verb. Cf. *Christ and Satan*, ll. 278, 9:

Uton, la, geþencan geond þas worulde
þæt we hælende heran onginnen.

Cf. also *Deor's Lament*, l. 31.

61. *Hu hi...maguþegnas*, lit. 'How they, proud young squires, have abandoned their halls.'

64. *For þon ne mæg*, etc. Cf. *Gnomic Verses* (Cotton.), ll. 11, 12. *Wearþan*, for W.S. *weorþan*. *ea* for *eo* is very common in Northumbrian texts, and not infrequent in Kentish. Cf. l. 46 n.

66. *Ne sceal no*, etc. Cf. *Be Manna Wyrðum*, ll. 48—50. For a similar

category cf. Wulfstan's Sermons (ed. A. Napier, Berlin, 1883), p. 40, 'Ne beon ge,' etc. Cf. also *ib.* p. 253, 'Ne syn we,' etc.

70. *Beorn* seems to be equivalent to *eorl*, i.e. a man of the upper or military (*kshatriya*) class. It is often tempting to translate both these poetical words by 'man,' but this is due to the fact that the typical man whom the poems have in view is of this class.

73. *Hu gæstlic*, etc. To the best of my knowledge there is no real parallel to the use of the word *gæstlic* here. B. and T. (cf. Suppl. s.v.) refer to the verb *gast*, 'to terrify.' Cf. the *N.E.D.* s.v. Or can the sentence possibly mean 'a spiritual time' in contrast to *þisse worulde*? For the construction cf. the *Dialogue of the Soul and Body*, l. 3:

Huru ðæs behofað hæleða æghwylc,
þæt he his sawle sið sylfa gefence,
hu þæt bið deoplic þonne se deað cymeð.

77. *Hryðge*, a ἄπ. λεγ. B. and T. suggest either 'dismantled' (cf. Norse *hrjóða*, 'strip,' 'dismantle') or 'tottering' (cf. A.S. *hriðian*—which however seems properly to mean 'be feverish'). Gr. Kōh. suggest 'beschneit' (cf. *hrið*, l. 102); Kock (*Lunds Universitets Årsskrift*, 1918, 'Jubilee Jaunts and Jottings,' p. 78) 'exposed to (snow) storms.'

80. *Sume wig fornom*, etc. We may perhaps cf. *Beowulf*, l. 1113. In the following lines *sum* is used to introduce items in a category. The *sum* motif is a very common one in A.S. gnomic poetry, e.g. *Crist*, l. 664 ff.; cf. also *Be Manna Wyrðum* and *Be Manna Cræftum*, l. 53. Similar lists of various forms of death to that in the *Wanderer* are not uncommon, e.g. *Blick. Hom.* ed. R. Morris (E.E.T.S. 1880), p. 95. Cf. also Wulfstan (*ed. cit.*), p. 183. Klaeber believes that these categories are of Latin derivation (cf. *Archiv f. d. St. der neueren Sprachen*, no. 126, p. 359) and compares Vergil, *Æneid* x, l. 557 ff. Cf. Aldhelm, *Carmen de resurrectione mortuorum*, v, 12 ff. The wolf and the raven or eagle, however, are commonplaces of A.S. poetry. Cf. *Brunanburh*, l. 60 f. and note p. 181 below.

81. *On forðwege*, lit. 'On their journey hence.'
sumre fugel opþær. Cf. the passage in *Blick. Hom.* cited above: 'þeah þe hie ær eorpe bewrigen hæfde...opþe wildeor abiton, opþe fuglas tobæron.' Thorpe suggested that *fugel* refers to a ship, Grein a vulture, Rieger an eagle.

83. *Deaðe gedælde*. Sweet suggests an emendation to *deadne gedælde*, but this is unnecessary. Cf. *Andreas*, l. 955:

Hie þin feorh ne magon deaðe gedælan,
and l. 1215 ff.:

Ne magon hie...þinne lichoman...deape gedælan.

85. *Eardgeard*. The word occurs elsewhere only in *Crist*, l. 55, where it refers to Jerusalem.

87. *Eald entu geweorc*, a regular Saxon phrase for structures dating from Roman and prehistoric times. Cf. the *Ruin*, l. 2, etc.; *Beowulf*, l. 2717; *Gnomic Verses* (Cotton.), l. 2, etc. Cf. also *Heliland*, l. 42. Similar expressions are also applied to the swords etc. of earlier times. Cf. *Beowulf*, l. 1679, etc.

88. *Wealsteal*. From the description it would seem that the ruin which the poet has in mind must be that of a Roman building, for there is no satisfactory evidence that the Saxons used stone for any save ecclesiastical buildings until a late period. The picture however

which is drawn of the life of its former occupants is that of an English prince's court. For this we have a parallel in the *Ruin*, which likewise appears to deal with the remains of a Roman building.

91. *þas word acwið*. The variation in the use of the tenses in this poem is perhaps worth noting. The action is really timeless, but the past tense is sometimes used (e.g. ll. 6 and 111) in reference to the cases cited.

92. *Hwær cwom*, etc. It is held by several scholars (e.g. Bright, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, 8, p. 187 f.; Klaeber, *Journal of Engl. and Gmc. Phil.* xii, p. 259; cf. also B. C. Williams, *Gnomic Poetry in Anglo-Saxon*, New York, 1914, p. 45; etc.) that these rhetorical formulae are of Latin derivation (*Ubi sunt*, etc.). A number of parallels can be found in homiletic writings, e.g. Wulfstan (ed. Napier), p. 263: 'Hwær syndon nu þa rican caseras 7 þa cyningas þe jo wæron, oððe þa ealdormen þe beboda setton? Hwær is demera domstow?...Hwær com middaneardes gestreon? Hwær com worulde wela,' etc. Cf. also *Blick. Hom.* (ed. Morris), p. 99, and the unpublished sermon contained in *Tib. A. III*, fol. 102 a, an extract from which is given by Kluge in *Engl. Stud.* viii, p. 472 f. Such passages are no doubt derived in part from L. originals. He compares Bede, *Lib. Scint.*: 'Dic ubi sunt reges, ubi principes, ubi imperatores, ubi locupletes rerum, ubi potentes sæculi? Certe quasi umbra transierunt; velut somnium evanuerunt,' which is thus rendered in the A.S. translation: 'Sege hwar synd cyningas, hwar ealdras, hwar wealdendras, hwar welige þinga, hwar mihtige worulde gewislice? swylce sceadu gewitan, swylce swefen fordwinan' (Cod. Reg. 7, C. iv, fol. 92). On the other hand it is to be observed that the formula *hwær cwom* is not of L. origin, and further that rhetorical questions in general do not appear to have been unusual in the early Teutonic languages. They are of fairly frequent occurrence in Norse poetry, both in long poems and in *lausavisur*; e.g. *Egils S.* ch. 61; *Eiríksmál*, str. 1; *Vellekla*, str. 24. Again the question 'where are?' with reference to the departed is of such a character that it could very easily come into use independently in different countries; and in point of fact it is of frequent occurrence in the early poetic literature of several languages, e.g. Greek (cf. *Iliad*, xiii, l. 219 f.), Hebrew (Isaiah xxxvi, 13) and Sanskrit (cf. *Rig Veda*, Book vii, Hymn 88, v. 5), which cannot be suspected of L. influence. Cf. further C. Becker, 'Ubi sunt qui ante nos in mundo fuere' in *Aufsätze zur Kultur- und Sprachgeschichte, vornehmlich des Orients*, Ernst Kuhn zum 70. Geburtstage gewidmet, München, 1916. The case as regards the *Wanderer* must therefore be regarded as at least doubtful. The only point in favour of the L. derivation is that this formula is unusual in A.S. poetry. On the other hand the whole tenor of the passage from l. 92—105 is as alien as it could well be from the homiletic passages cited above.

93. *Hwær...gesetu*. The sing. verb with the pl. subject is no doubt due to attraction to the preceding phrases. Cf. *Blick. Hom. ed. cit.* p. 99. The construction however is not unknown. Cf. Mätzner, *Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache* (Weimar, 1863), p. 51 (3).

97. *Stondeð nu on laste...weal*, lit. 'There stands in the track of...a wall.' For this use of *last* cf. the phrase *last weardian*, *Beo.* l. 971, etc., and see B. and T. *s.v. last*. It is quite in accordance with A.S. idiom to omit the word 'only' before 'wall.'

98. *Wyrmlícum fah*, obscure. B. and T. transl. *wyrmlíc*—'the body of a serpent (of carving on a wall)'; Gr. Köh. *serpentis corpus*. So far

as I am aware the word only occurs once elsewhere in a Confession published in *Anglia*, xii, p. 501, by Logeman, where it seems to be used in quite a different sense. The serpent was a familiar design in Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical art. We may refer to the sculptured portal at Monkwearmouth Church, while on tombstones it is not uncommon. But a difficulty is caused by the fact that we have no evidence for such designs on the walls of fortifications or (stone) houses, whether Roman or later. Is it conceivable that *wyrm* may here come from *wurma*, *wyrma* as in *wyrmbasu*, 'coccus' (equivalent to *weoloc-read*)? We may possibly compare the expression *readfah* in the *Ruin*, l. 10, though the use of *teafor*, *ib.* l. 23, points to a different origin for the colouring mentioned there.

102. *Hrusan bindeð*, etc. I have adopted the emendation *hruse* to *hrusan* which was suggested by Thorpe and adopted by Ettmüller and most later editors, and take *woma* as standing in loose apposition to *hrið*, since the former by itself can hardly be the subject of *bindeð*. The sentence *þonne...nihtscua* is best rendered as a parenthesis.

106. *Eall is earföðlic*, etc. *Earföðlic* does not appear to be used elsewhere in this sense. Possibly *rice* may be dative; lit. 'everything is troublesome to earthly dominion,' i.e. earthly dominion is beset with trouble on every side. I have taken *eorþan rice* as practically equivalent to *woruld*. The meaning however may be 'All earthly power is fraught with trouble.'

107. *Wyrda gesceaft*. The phrase occurs again in *Daniel*, l. 132. The origin of this and similar expressions is doubtless to be found in a mythological conception, similar to that which forms the subject of the *Darraðarljóð*; cf. the *Rhyming Poem*, l. 70: *me þæt Wyrð gewæf*.

108. *Her bið feoh læne*, etc. The resemblance to *Hávamál*, str. 76 f., was pointed out by R. M. Meyer in *Die altgermanische Poesie* (Berlin, 1889), p. 321 f.; cf. also *Hákonarmál*, str. 21.

110. *Gesteal* apparently occurs only here. It is generally interpreted to mean 'frame.' It is possible however that the word may mean 'habitations together with their occupants,' in which case the sense would be 'The present generation with all its belongings will pass away.'

111. *Gesæt him*, etc. Cf. *Heliand*, l. 3227; *Andreas*, l. 1161.

113. *Nemþe he ær*, etc. I have taken the phrase *þa bote* as referring to the following sentence, i.e. 'seeking for grace through prayer.' Cf. Prayer iv, ll. 19, 109. It is possible however that the phrase *bote gefremman* may mean 'make reparation,' and that this has no connection with what follows. If this latter interpretation is correct, *torn* is probably to be translated 'anger' rather than 'grief.'

II. THE SEAFARER

1. *Mæg ic*, etc. For the opening lines of this poem cf. the *Wife's Complaint*, l. 1 and n. Cf. also *Be Manna Mode*, l. 15. The word *mæg* seems to have little force here. Cf. the *Wife's Complaint*, l. 2. We may compare its use in the Lindisfarne Gospels, where it is sometimes employed to render the Latin fut. or conj. See B. and T. s. v. *magan* v.

6. *Atol yþa gewearc*. Cf. *Exodus*, l. 455; *Beowulf*, l. 848. The phrase stands in loose apposition to *cearselda fela*: 'I have experienced

many anxious situations, (I have experienced) the terrible rolling of the waves.'

þær is probably relative, 'when'; but the idiom can hardly be reproduced in Modern English.

8. *Cnossað*, so ms. Early editors, e.g. Ettmüller, Grein, Rieger, etc. read *cnossade*. So also Wülcker and Imelmann. For the use of the indic. pres. in dependent sentences relating to the past a possible parallel is to be found in *Beowulf*, l. 1923. For the use of the conj. pres. instances occur in *Beowulf*, ll. 1314, 1928, 2495.

9. *Mine fet*. Kluge em. *fet* to *fotas*. So also Schücking. Sweet and Sieper transpose *mine* and *fet* for metrical reasons.

10. *Ceare seofedun...heortan*. Cf. *Genesis*, l. 354f. An antithesis is doubtless intended between *caldum* and *hat*; but the strained metaphor can hardly be reproduced in a translation. Sweet emends *hat* to *hate*. If the ms. reading is kept the lit. translation will be 'distress moaned, heat (subst.) round my heart'; or poss. 'distress moaned hotly (acc. nt. adj. as adv.) round my heart.' (So Imelmann.) Cf. *bitter*, l. 55.

13. *Þe...limpeð*, etc. Or possibly 'who has the happiest of lots (life) on land.' Imelmann translates 'zum besten gedeiht.' The superlative however is perhaps not to be pressed.

14. *Earmcearig*, or perhaps 'made anxious by my desolation.' Sweet translates 'careworn.'

16. *Winemægum bidroren*. Half a line has presumably been lost after *lastum*. The line is metrically defective as it stands. There is no indication of a lacuna in the ms.

18. *Þær ic ne gehyrde*, etc. Previous editors have punctuated this sentence differently, marking the stop after *song* instead of after *wæg*; 'There I...waves and the recurring note of the swan. For amusement I had the call of the gannet, and the scream of the godwit in place of human merriment.'

20. *Gomene...hleahfor wera...medodrince*. It is to be noted that his mind has recurred, like that of the Wanderer (cf. ll. 32—55), to feasts in the hall, where these three elements are invariably to be found. Cf. *Beowulf*, ll. 607—630, etc.

21. *Hwilpan*. If the text is correct the metre would rather favour *hwilpan* as against *hu-ilpan*. Sieper omits *and*; but *u* for *w* is not uncommon in early texts and was regularly used in early Northumbrian. Ref. may be made to the note on this word by M. Daunt in the *Mod. Lang. Rev.* Vol. XIII, 1918, pp. 478, 479. I came independently to the conclusion that the bird is the bar-tailed godwit, commonly called *yarwhelp* and *half-wharp*. Shakespeare calls it *scammel*. The godwit is a water-bird and is also called 'sea-woodcock.' It may be an objection that the godwit is a migratory bird and does not stay in this country in the winter. But this objection applies also, curiously enough, to the gannet and the tern.

25. *Urigfebra*. This line cannot be correct, as alliteration is wanting. Wülcker, following Thorpe, holds that something has been lost from the text. Grein prints *ne ænig* for *nænig*. Kluge suggests *heaswigfebra* for *urigfebra*; but the latter occurs elsewhere, viz. in *Judith*, l. 210; *Elene*, ll. 29, 111—in each case as an epithet of the eagle.

26. *Frefran*. The reading of the ms. *feran* can hardly be correct. Cf. the *Wanderer*, l. 28.

27 f. *Ah...gebiden*. For the use of *agan* (in the sense of *habban*) with

the p.p. cf. Wulfstan's *Sermo ad Anglos* (Sweet's *Reader*, p. 91, l. 56). Owing to the rarity of this construction some editors (e.g. Sweet, Schücking) em. to *gebideð*. The transl. would then be: 'He who has a happy life and experiences no perilous adventures,' etc.

28. *In burgum*, possibly poet. pl. for sing., as elsewhere, e.g. *Genesis*, l. 2562. Ettmüller, Schücking, etc. omit the comma before *bealosiða*.

From Alfred's Laws, cap. 40, it appears that the term *burh* (perhaps properly 'stockade') was applied to the residences of men of all ranks above that of the peasant.

31. *Nap nihtscua*, etc. With this passage cf. the *Wanderer*, l. 102 ff.

33. *For þon*. Cf. Introduction, p. 17 f., above.

37. *Ferð* to *feran*. Grein (according to Wülcker), emends *ferð* to *forð* which seems more natural. In this case we must supply 'me.'

42. *His sæfore sorge*, lit. 'anxiety with regard to his sea-voyaging, as to what God,' etc. *sæfore* is causal gen. after *sorge*.

43. *To hwan*. Toller (cf. Suppl. s.v. I(c)) understands *gedon* in this passage in the sense of 'to bring a person into a condition.' Cf. *Admonition to the Christian Life*, l. 59 f.: 'Uncuð bið þe to hwan þe þin Drihten gedon wille'; *Elene*, l. 1157. Cf. also *Orosius*, 3, 1; *Blick. Hom.* 69, 7.

44. *Ne biþ him*, etc. Cf. l. 20 and n.

45. *To wife wyn*, or possibly 'he has no pleasure in his wife.' *To worulde hyht*, or possibly 'no hope in this world.' Cf. *Crist*, l. 585 f.; *Guðlac*, l. 631 f.

46. *Ymbe...elles*. The subject is probably *hyge*, l. 45 being parenthetical.

48. *Blostmum nimað*. The text can hardly be correct, since *niman* is apparently not used elsewhere with the dative. One is tempted to suspect that *blostmum nimað* is a corruption of *blostmiað*, but it is not easy to see how such an error could have arisen. The writing in the ms. is perfectly clear, a new line beginning at | *mum*.

byrig fægriað. *Fægriað* apparently occurs only once elsewhere (cf. Toller, Suppl. s.v.), and there with transitive meaning. Norse *fegra* is also trans. I have therefore taken *byrig* as acc. If *fægriað* is intrans. we must transl. 'The houses of the great (or fortifications) begin to look bright'; but the meaning of this is not clear. We may perhaps cf. King Alfred's Preface to his translation of St Augustine's *Soliloquies*, ed. H. L. Hargrove (New York, 1902), p. 1.

50. *Ealle þa*, etc. The lit. transl. would seem to be 'Incite the man eager of heart, (incite) to travel the heart of one who has such inclinations.'

51. *Sefan*, so modern editors (e.g. Wülcker, Sieper, Schücking, Imelmann). Early editors emended to *feran* and (Grein² and Rieger) *þone* (for *þam*).

52. *Gewitaþ*. The use of the pl. here is curious, and most editors (e.g. Ettmüller, Rieger, Grein, Wülcker, Sweet, Sieper, Schücking, etc.) emend to *gewitan*.

53. *Geac...geomran reorde*. Cf. the *Husband's Message*, D, l. 10 f. and n. The cuckoo figures largely as a herald of Spring in Irish poetry also. Cf. the 'Song of Summer' in *Ancient Irish Poetry*, transl. K. Meyer

(London, 1913), p. 54. Cf. also Sweet's *Anglo-Saxon Reader* (Oxford, 1908), p. 223, n. to l. 53.

55. *Bitter*. Rieger emends to *bitre*. So also Sweet, but cf. *hat*, l. 11 and note to l. 10.

beorn. Cf. the *Wanderer*, l. 70 n.

56. *Esteadig*. So Wülcker, Sweet, Imelmann, etc. The word is apparently a *ἀπ. λεγ.* (lit. 'blest with luxuries'). Grein read the ms. as *eft-* (as previously suggested by Thorpe), and emended to *sefteadig*, in which he has been followed by Rieger, Kluge, Schücking and the dictionaries ('in easy circumstances,' B. and T.); but *seft-* does not appear to occur elsewhere in compounds. Sieper reads *eft-eadig*, but translates 'glücklich.'

61. *Eorþan sceatas*. I take *sceatas* to be gen. sing. (cf. Sievers, *Angelsächs. Gram.*, § 237, Anm. 1), possibly, as elsewhere, for an earlier *-æs* dependent upon *wide*. *Ofer* is added by Ettmüller and Wülcker, *geond* by Grein and Rieger.

62. *Gifre and grædig* is a formula which occurs elsewhere. Cf. *Genesis*, l. 793; *Dialogue of the Body and Soul*, l. 74.

anfloga. Sieper takes *anfloga* as applying to the cuckoo. Ettmüller and Gr. Köh. transl. *draco*; but surely it merely carries on the metaphor which describes the speaker's imagination as a (solitary) seabird. Cf. *Psalms* xi, 1; cxxiv, 7.

65. *Deade lif*. This figurative use of the adj. is rare. Cf. however *Gnomic Verses* (Exeter ms.), l. 79; cf. also B. and T. (Suppl.) s.v. *dead* l.

68. *Simle þreora sum*, etc. For the asyndetic form of this sentence, cf. the *Laws of Wihfred*, cap. 26. The phrase is not uncommon. Cf. *þreora an* in *Be Griðe*, ch. 16.

69. *Ær his tiddege*. I take *ær* as prep., and the ms. *tidege* to be for *tiddæge*, with Gr. Köh. etc. Cf. *Genesis*, l. 1165. Rieger, Wülcker, Sweet, etc. emend to *ær his tid aga*.

71. *Fægum fromweardum*, lit. 'Doomed (and) about to depart.'

72. There are various possible ways of taking this passage.

(1) *Lof* (*lifgendra æftercweþendra*) subj.; *lastworda betst* pred., 'The praise of those who survive...is the best of reputations.' In this case the clause *þæt he gewyrce* is explanatory to *lof*, though somewhat anacoluthic. *Fremman* is governed by *gewyrce*, '?That he succeed by his labours...in prevailing'—an unusual construction. The chief difficulty in the way of this interpretation is the first *þæt* (in l. 72) which comes before the subject.

(2) *Lof* (*lifgendra æftercweþendra*) is acc. obj. of *gewyrce*. The subj. of the sentence is *þæt* in l. 72 taken up as usual by *þæt* in l. 74. 'It is the best of reputations...that he should gain the praise,' etc. The difficulty here is that the object of *gewyrce* (*lof*) comes before the predicate of the main sentence; and further that we shall have an awkward anacoluthon in *fremman*, l. 75, which in that case can only be taken as loosely complementary to the sentence *þæt he gewyrce*, etc.

In either case *biþ* must be understood in the main sentence, but B. and T. and Gr. Köh. give no examples of the use of *gewyrcean* with the infin. The latter (following Rieger) regard *fremman* as acc. sing. of a fem. noun *fremme* (Rieger *freme*) governed by *gewyrce*. The form, however, does not occur elsewhere. Sweet in his *Reader* (Oxford, 1908, p. 173, l. 75) emends to *freme* (n. sing.) but omits the reference in his glossary. K. Sisam (*Engl. St. Bd.* 46, 1912-1913, p. 336) emends

to *fremum* (d. pl. of *fremu*) making ll. 75 and 76 parallel, transl. 'that... he bring it about by beneficial actions upon the earth against the malice of fiends, by doughty deeds against the devil, that the sons of men afterwards praise him,' and compares *Beowulf*, l. 20 ff. Kock ('Jubilee Jaunts and Jottings,' p. 76 *Lunds Universitets Årsskrift*, 1918) emends to *fremme* (vb.), and translates: 'that he... achieves and brings about on earth... that sons of men extol him afterwards.'

75. *Fremman on foldan*, etc. Cf. *Be Manna Cræftum*, ll. 89, 90.

79. *Blæd* seems to be in loose syntactical apposition with what goes before.

80. *Dagas sind gewitene*, etc., lit. 'The days, all the splendour,' etc.

82. *Ne aron nu*, etc. Cf. the *Wanderer*, l. 92 n.

84. *Mæst mid him*. The force of *mid him* (which perhaps applies strictly to the following line also) seems to be 'More than any others of their kind' (i.e. kings etc.).

91. *Yldo him*, etc. Cf. the picture of old age in Budge, *The Literature of the Egyptians* (London, 1914), p. 225.

92. *Iuwine...eorþan forgiefene*. Some editors emend to *-giefenne* (sing.). On the other hand it may be an instance of the frequent poet. pl. for sing. Cf. *Guðlac*, l. 1326.

98. *Broþor his geborenun*. *Broþor* is nom., lit. 'though he (as) a brother for his born (brother).' Ettmüller reads *gebodrum* for *geborenun*; but cf. Laws of Alfred, ch. 42 (6). Rieger, Wülfker, etc. read *bycgan* for *byrgan*, and *he ne* for *hine*, 'bargaining by means of perishable treasures that he may not die too.' The passage has been discussed by M. Daunt in the *Modern Lang. Review*, Vol. xi, p. 337 f., and by Kock in 'Jubilee Jaunts and Jottings,' p. 76 in *Lunds Universitets Årsskrift*. But the poet clearly has in mind heathen customs and ideas similar to those described in *Ynglingasaga*, ch. 8, where it is stated that everyone should bring to Valhöll such treasure as he had on his pyre, and should also have for his enjoyment whatever he had buried in the ground.

99. *Mafnum mislicum*. I take this to be a loose instr. use, lit. 'by means of various (or 'in the form of various') treasures.' Cf. *Beow.* l. 2181.

100. *Ne mæg*, etc., lit. 'Gold will not be able,...when he has hidden it,' etc.

101. *For godes egsan*. Cf. *Andreas*, l. 457; *Crist*, l. 1015.

103. *Oncyrreð*. Cf. the *Wanderer*, l. 107; *Rhyming Poem*, l. 59.

106. *Dol biþ*, etc. Cf. *Gnomic Verses* (Exeter ms.), l. 35. Cf. also *Salomon and Saturn*, l. 224; the *Wanderer*, l. 112.

Unþinged, nom., lit. 'When it (death) is unprepared for.'

109. *Mon sceal*, etc. For *mon*, the ms. has *mod*. So also Schücking. The emendation (which has been adopted by almost all editors) is suggested by the *Gnomic Verses* (Exeter ms.), l. 51.

110. *Gewis*, etc., sc. '*mon sceal wesan*.' Perhaps however one should take (with Gr. Köh.) *gewis* and *clæne* as acc. sing. neut. agreeing with *þæt*. The translation will then be 'A vehement heart must be controlled and kept within its due bounds—faithful to pledges, pure in manner of life.'

112. *Wiþ leofne*, etc. The line is defective as it stands. I have followed Klaeber in supplying *lufan* after *leofne*—which seems to be required by both the sense and the metre.

113. *Fyres* is obviously wrong, if the present order of words is correct. A word with initial *w-* is required. Does *fulne* stand for *fül(l)ne* or for *fülne*? For the latter ('guilty') we may refer to the frequent references to ordeal in the Laws.

115. *Geworhtne*. The ms. reading—*geworhtne*—can hardly be correct. A possible emend. would be *gewrehtne*. The meaning would then be lit. 'Wish a friend of his (or possibly 'his lord') who has been accused to be burnt on the pyre.' It is presumably not to the funeral pyre of heathen times that reference is made here but to the punishment of enemies or criminals by burning. Cf. *Be Manna Wyrðum*, l. 43 f.; Aethelstan's Laws iv, 6, § 7, where the reference is to the punishment of slaves.

swiðre. The ms. reading *swire* is obviously wrong. The emendation to *swiðre* is confirmed by the *Ruin*, l. 17; *Salomon and Saturn*, l. 442; *Gnostic Verses* (Cotton.), l. 5.

117. *Uton we*, etc. Cf. Introduction, p. 18 above. Cf. for the form of the concluding lines *Crist*, ll. 771—8; *Homily on Psalm 28*, ll. 43—47.

121. *Gelong*. The sense seems to require that *gelong* should be taken with *in* rather than with *pær*.

123, 4. *Geweorþade...in ealle tid*. Or does this rather mean 'Who has counted us worthy of eternal salvation'? B. and T. however do not recognise this use of *geweorþian*.

III. THE WIFE'S COMPLAINT

1. *Giedd wrece*, a technical phrase. Cf. the *Wonders of Creation*, l. 12; *Beowulf*, l. 1065, etc. Cf. also the *Seafarer*, ll. 1, 2, and *Beowulf*, l. 872 f. where *sið* and *wreca* are similarly brought together.

2. *Minre sylfre sið*. The fem. form of the pron. etc. shows that the poem refers to a woman. Cf. Ettmüller, *Engla and Seaxna Scopas and Boceras*, 1850, p. 214; cf. also Introduction, p. 28, above. *Sið* seems to be in loose apposition to *giedd*. The lax syntax in the first two lines is characteristic of the whole poem. Cf. l. 45 f. For the construction cf. B. and T. *s.v. self*, II (3).

5. *Wite*, etc. The same expression occurs, though with a different construction of the gen., in *Genesis*, l. 1013 f.; cf. *Guðlac*, l. 440.

6—15. The sequence of events is not quite clear to me; but the obscurity may be not altogether unintentional.

7. *Uhtceara*. Cf. the *Wanderer*, l. 8; Prayer iv, l. 95.

9. *Folgað*. This meaning is unusual in A.S.; but cf. Bede, *H.E.* v, 11: 'Willfrið wæs on þa tid of his eðle adriæn and in Mercna land folgade (In Merciorum regionibus exulabat).' Cf. also the use of *folgere* (*pedissequa*), Toller, Suppl. *s.v. ad fin.* The poem contains many *ἀπ. λεγ.* and unusual constructions. Cf. Schücking, *Zeitschr. für deut. Alterthum*, Vol. XLVIII (1906), p. 448 f.

11. *Ongunnon*, etc. It is not clear whether the poet intends this as a statement of fact or merely as a surmise on the part of the heroine. All editors seem to take the former view, and the latter certainly seems to postulate a somewhat complex situation which we should perhaps hardly be justified in attributing to a poet of the period. Yet the poem is more subtle than any other Anglo-Saxon poem which has come down to us.

14. *Laðlicost*. I have taken *laðlic* in the usual sense, 'hateful.' The sentence might however be transl. 'So that we might live as far apart in the world and as miserably as possible,' in which sense it is taken by Gr. Köh., Schücking, Imelmann, etc.

15. *Her heard*. This line has given rise to much speculation. See B. and T., Suppl., *s.v. heard* vi. Early scholars, e.g. Thorpe and Ettmüller, regarded *Herheard* as a proper name. I have taken the ms. reading *herheard* as two words, with Wülcker. Grein², Trautmann, Köhler, Schücking, Imelmann, keep the single word *herheard* which they regard as an unusual (dialectal) spelling of *hearg-eard* and interpret as 'a dwelling in a grove' ('temple,' Gr.²). *Hearg* (Norse *hörgr*, O.H.G. *haruc*) is used to transl. such words as *funum*, *idolum*, and the German word is found in addition glossing *nemus*, *lucus*. The phrase *herheard niman* could therefore probably bear the meaning 'to take sanctuary,' perhaps with the idea of 'grove' involved. Grein¹ emended to *her eard niman* 'to take up (my) abode here.' So also Brandl, Sieper (cf. however his transl. of this passage), etc. Cf. l. 27 below. See B. and T. *s.v. niman* viii; cf. Psalm 131, v. 15; *Crist*, l. 63; *Guðlac*, l. 1051.

According to the interpretation adopted in l. 11 the wife regards the action of her husband in sending her to the grove as an act of cruelty for which she cannot account, except by her knowledge or suspicion that his relatives had been sowing discord between them.

16. *Leofra lyt*, etc. For *lyt* with the personal gen. cf. the *Wanderer*, l. 31 and n.

18—21. The force of *ful gemæne* is probably intended to apply only to *heards. hygeg.*, what follows being intended as a qualification to the latter word—in which case we may supply 'though' or 'but' (cf. p. 18, n. 1 above). It is possible however that *heards. hygeg.* are used predicatively. In that case we should translate 'since I have found a man fully suited to me (i.e. in birth, station, etc.) to be,' etc. So Imelmann, *Forschungen zur altenglischen Poesie*, p. 21.

20. *Morþor hygende*. Lawrence transl. 'meditating upon death.' Stefanovič (*Anglia*, vol. xxxii, p. 413) understands the phrase as qualifying *mod*. Most editors em. to *hygendne*, but the loss of *-n* in the acc. sing. masc. of pres. part. is not uncommon.

21. *Bliþe gebæro*. A much easier construction is gained by ending the previous sentence at *hygende* and taking *bliþe gebæro* with what follows. This punctuation, which was first adopted by Conybeare in his *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (London, 1826), p. 247, has been followed by Stefanovič, *op. cit.*, p. 414. (Cf. also Ettmüller, *Scopas and Boceras*, p. 215 n. for an alternative suggestion.) But Conybeare's punctuation destroys the parallelism between ll. 19—21 and ll. 42—45, which is surely intentional. The construction of *bliþe gebæro* is rendered difficult by the uncertainty which exists as to the declension and gender of *gebæro*. Cf. Toller, Suppl. *s.v.* If the words here are to be taken as acc., the sentence can hardly be strictly syntactical. The expression is perhaps to be taken as a compound.

24. *Swa hit no wære*. Cf. the *Wanderer*, l. 96. The verse is incomplete, but this may be intentional.

25. *Freondscipe uncer*. For the sense of *freondscipe*, cf. the *Husband's Message* D, l. 7.

26. *Fæhðu dreogan*. The words might also mean 'bear (i.e. share) the blood-guilt' or 'vendetta'; but this interpretation does not appear

to fit the context here, and it was not usual for a wife to be involved in a vendetta incurred by her husband. I have therefore preferred to take *fæhðu* in the more general sense of 'hostility,' which is not uncommon in the case of *fah*, and which gives additional point to the words *mines fela leofan*.

27. *Heht mec*, etc. The nearest parallel that I know is in the text of the *Helreið Brynhildar* contained in the *Flateyjarbók*, Vol. I, p. 356:

Lét mig af harmi hugfullr konungur

Atla systur undir æik búa.

('In sorrow the courageous king made me, the sister of Atli, to dwell beneath an oak.')

There is nothing in the context or elsewhere to explain this passage, and all editors, I think, adopt the reading of the *Codex Regius* which (as in several other places in the poem) gives quite a different sense from the *Flateyjarbók*:

Lét hami vára hugfullr konungur

átta systra und eik borit.

('The courageous king had my (swan) garb and those of my eight sisters carried beneath an oak.')

The readings of the *Flateyjarbók* however are not mere scribal errors. In sagas we hear occasionally of sanctuaries serving as *gríðastaðir*, i.e. places where fugitives could seek refuge (as in churches in later times). Thus in *Friðþjófs Saga*, ch. 2, Ingibjörg is placed in the sanctuary of *Baldrshagi* by her brothers when they go out freebooting; and the sanctuary of Freyr seems to serve a similar purpose in the story of Gunnarr Helming, *Flateyjarbók*, I, p. 337 (cf. also *Eyrbyggja Saga*, ch. 4). These sanctuaries very frequently contained—and indeed perhaps originally consisted of—sacred trees or groves. In England we hear of places of sanctuary or asylum (*friðgeard*) round trees in the North. Priests' Law, § 35. Parallels are not uncommon among other peoples. We may refer especially to the sacred groves of the Lithuanians in which no injury might be offered to man or beast. It is not unlikely therefore that this is what is meant both in l. 27 ff. above and in the *Flat.* text of the *Helreið*. Our passage could also be interpreted as pointing to a prison; but I do not know any parallels to the use of such a place in this way.

29. *Eorðsele*, cf. *eorðscræfe*, ll. 28, (-u) 36. The meaning is not made clear. The latter word occurs in the *Wanderer*, l. 84, apparently in the sense of 'grave.' Here it would seem to mean a cave, natural or artificial. One is tempted to think of the 'earth-houses' found in Scotland and elsewhere, but the total absence of such structures in Saxon England raises a difficulty. Chambered long barrows may be thought of, but these are confined to a limited district (Wilts, Somerset, Glouces.) and l. 35 rather suggests a larger space. The pl. *eorðscræfu* in l. 36 may point rather to a succession of chambers such as might be found in 'dene-holes' or in natural caves.

30. *Dena* and *duna* form a frequent antithesis in poetry. Cf. Riddle 28, ll. 1, 2, etc. Can *dun* here possibly refer to the steep sides of the cavern? The meaning may however be 'This is a gloomy dell surrounded by lofty hills.'

31. *Bitre burgtunas*; cf. Grein's translation which takes the phrase in a figurative sense. It might possibly mean however 'Prickly is the enclosing fence.' The original meaning of *tun* was 'a hedge,' cf. Fris.

tun, 'a hedge,' also Ger. *Zaun*. The expression however may possibly be used ironically.

33. *Frynd sind on eorþan*, etc., or perhaps 'above ground.' Thorpe 'My friends are in the earth; the once dear living ones the grave inhabit': so also Conybeare.

34. *Leger weardiað*; Gr. 'liegen im Grabe.' In this interpretation the word *lifgende* presents a difficulty (which is hardly satisfactorily met by Thorpe's transl.), while the following sentence (*bonne*, etc) seems to be pointless.

37. *Sumorlangne dæg*, cf. *Juliana*, l. 495; *Metres of Boethius*, 4¹⁹. Lit. 'when the days are long as in summer.' B. and T. cf. 'livelong,' cf. also *morgenlongne dæg*, *Beowulf*, l. 2894. Schücking translates 'All the summer long.' But cf. Norse *várlangr*, also used with *dagr*, denoting the length of the spring day. Cf. also O.S. *sumarlanges dages*, *Helianð*, l. 3421. Imelmann believes that a contrast to *uhtan* is intended.

42 ff. In ll. 42—45 there are three possible constructions:

(1) heard (*habban sceal*) heortan geþoht—swylce *habban sceal blipe gebæro*—eac (prep.) þon (*habban sceal*) *breostceare*, etc. *Geþoht* in l. 43 can hardly be accusative, the evidence for the neuter form (cf. B. and T. s.v.) not being satisfactory. But *habban* may possibly be passive.

(2) heard (*scyle wesan*) heortan geþoht. *Breostceare*, etc. may be attracted into the construction of *blipe gebæro*, though in sense belonging to *heard heortan geþoht*.

(3) heard (*scyle wesan*) heortan geþoht; swylce...*gebæro*; eac (advb.) þon (=þonne) *breostceare sinsorgna gedreag* (3rd sing. pret.). This is perhaps the least probable, while (2) on the whole would seem to be the most satisfactory.

geong mon. It is a much debated question whether this phrase is to be taken as general or particular. Cf. Introduction, p. 30 above. Grein, Roeder, Imelmann, Sieper, etc. understand it to refer to the young man who has caused the separation of wife and husband. Schücking thought that it referred to the speaker of the poem who, according to him, was a man; but he has recently changed his view in favour of a connection with the *Crescentia* story. (Cf. Introduction, p. 29, n. 8 above). Williams and Lawrence regard the passage as gnomic, but suggested by reflections on the husband. In this case a transition from the general to the particular must be understood in the following lines—at l. 46, if not before.

scyle. The difference between *scyle* and *sceal* is, strictly, that between statements of opinion and of fact; but the two forms appear to be used sometimes without any appreciable difference of meaning, especially in gnomic poetry, e.g. *Seafarer*, l. 109 ff.; *Wonders of Creation*, l. 17 ff.; cf. *Hávamál*, str. 83, 92, as compared with str. 80—82, etc. Grein, Sieper and others take *scyle* as a true optative, 'may he,' etc.—a curse upon the *geong mon* who, according to them, is not the husband, but one of the mischievous relatives.

43. *Heard heortan geþoht*, etc. Or perhaps 'He must have stern resolutions in his mind—though a gracious demeanour—grief of heart too,' etc.

45. *Sy æt him sylfum gelong*. This sentence contains alternative hypotheses, cf. Sweet, *New English Grammar* (Oxford, 1898), Vol. II, p. 13; but the second hypothesis is complicated by the introduction of a fresh consideration. Instead of 'Or whether he be pursued,' etc. the addition of the clause 'that my friend sits,' etc. causes the suppression

of the verb of the original clause, or rather converts it from pers. to impers. use, cf. Schücking, *Zeitschr. für. deut. Alterthum*, Vol. XLVIII (1906), p. 445 f.

46. *Wide...feorres folclondes*. I take the gen. *feorres folclondes* to be dependent on *wide*.

50. *On dreorsele*, etc. The scene which she has in mind is not quite clear to me. Is it a cave on the coast, to which access can be obtained only by water, or a flooded ruin (cf. *stankleoþu*, *Wanderer*, l. 101)?

53. *Of langope*. B. and T. and Gr. Köh. suggest emendation of *of* to *on*. In accordance with the general custom of A.S. gnomic utterances, this sentence is expressed in the masc. sing., though the speaker is obviously thinking primarily of her own position.

IV. THE HUSBAND'S MESSAGE

B.

1. *Sæwealle*. Cf. *Beowulf*, l. 1924.

2. *Merefaroþe*. Cf. *Andreas*, l. 351, etc. The word is generally understood to mean sea-waves. Cf. B. and T. *s.v.*, also Tupper. Thorpe translates 'ocean's strand.' The compound only occurs here and in *Andreas*, where there is nothing in the text to preclude the meaning sea-shore, and this seems to give better sense in our text. Cf. also *Andreas*, l. 255, and Toller, Suppl. *s.v. faroþ* II. For a discussion of the word and its frequent confusion with *waroþ*, cf. Krapp, 'Notes on the *Andreas*,' *Modern Philology*, Vol. II, pp. 405, 406.

3. *Fea ænig*. Cf. Psalm 104, v. 11.

9. *Ofer meodu*. The line is metrically defective, nor, as it stands, is it easy to see the exact force of *ofer*. Grein¹ suggested *meodubence*; Grein², *meodudrincende*. The former suggestion has been adopted by Tupper in his ed. of the riddle (*The Riddles of the Exeter Book*, Boston, 1910), the latter by Wülcker. There is no sign of omission in the ms.

14. *þingum*. All editors seem to take this as adv. instr., some translating (with Thorpe) 'purposely,' others 'violently.' (Gr. Köh. 'potenter,' 'violenter'?) B. and T. give 'purposely' *s.v. þing* but 'violently' *s.v. geþywan* for this passage. The latter meaning is practically implied in *geþydan*. I cannot find any parallel for the meaning 'purposely,' but it might possibly mean 'to the end that' or 'by such treatment that.' Or is it possible that it may be a true dat., 'subjected me to such treatment that,' etc.?

C.

3. *Frean*. Schücking emends to *fri[g]an* for metrical reasons.

5. *Tirfæste treowe*, etc. Cf. Psalm 100, v. 6, where the phrase is possibly suggested by this passage.

D.

1. *Hwæt* is frequently used by Anglo-Saxon poets to introduce a new division of the subject (here, the actual message). Cf. the *Wonders of Creation*, l. 38.

2. *Sinchroden*, lit. 'treasure-laden.' Thorpe, 'richly adorned one.'

5. *Meoduburgum*. Cf. the *Wanderer*, l. 78.
6. *Eard weardigan*. Gr. 'wohnen.' Cf. *Crist*, l. 772.
7. *Fæhþo*. Cf. the *Wife's Complaint*, l. 26 and n.
9. *Lagu drefde*, lit. 'stir,' 'churn the sea,' a poetical expression common in Anglo-Saxon for travelling by sea. Cf. l. 21, *mengan merestreamas*; *Beowulf*, l. 1904; *Wanderer*, l. 4; and (with a somewhat different meaning) *Hrafnsmál*, str. 9.
10. *Sibþan þu gehyrde*, etc., i.e. as soon as spring is come.—The ancients usually avoided sailing in winter.
11. *Geomorne geac*. Cf. the *Seafarer*, l. 53 and n.
16. *Findest*. Thorpe punctuates *findest*; þær.
19. *He me sægde*. Thorpe places a period after *sægde* and translates *bonne*, etc., l. 20, as 'Then may,' etc.
- xviii. *Geong*. Ettmüller and others suggest that *ana* is the word which has been lost here. May it not have been an infinitive, parallel to *faran*?
25. *ƿeodnes dohtor*. I have followed the punctuation of Thorpe. Most editors (e.g. Ettmüller, Wülcker, Sieper, Schücking, etc.) place a comma after *eorlgestreona*.
gif...beneah...gecyre appears to be an irregular conditional sentence. Instead of 'if he shall gain thee he will carry out the bond,' it has been turned to 'if he shall gain thee I would choose...to declare on oath that he will keep the bond.' The meaning would then be that besides the guarantee of the old vows the speaker would be prepared to get S. R. etc. to give a further guarantee. He would choose them as his oath-helpers. Cf. the *cyre-aþ*, Laws of Aethelstan, cap. II, 9. Cf. also p. 42, n. 2 above.
26. *Ofær eald gebeot*. The dictionaries and edd. translate *gebeot* as 'promise.' Thorpe 'after the old promise.' B. and T. 'contrary to the old promise.' So also Grein, Trautmann, Ten Brink, Schücking, etc. Blackburn 'in spite of the old threat (against you both).' Imelmann 'in accordance with the old covenant.'
27. *Gecyre*. All editors who accept this reading (e.g. Thorpe, Wülcker, Imelmann, etc.) take the word as coming from *gecierran*, though the actual emendation *rr* for *r* which appears to be required is not always printed. The sense however seems to point to *geceosan*, though the use of the pret. conj. in this construction is unusual except in auxiliary verbs, *wære, wolde*, etc. Schipper read *genyre*, Trautmann, Tupper, Sieper, and Schücking read *genyre* for *gehyre* (i.e. with the upper stroke of the *h* effaced), but they do not translate. Cf. *Anglia*, xxxvi, p. 287.
28. D. This letter seems properly to be D, but in the *Ruin*, l. xviii (24), it is obviously used for M, so it may have that value here also.

THE RUIN

1. *Wrætlic*, etc. Cf. *Gnomic Verses* (Cotton.), l. 3 *wrætlic weallstana geweorc*, here also used of Roman masonry. *Wealstan*, Gr. Kōh. understand *weallstan*, and transl. 'corner stone,' presumably on the ground of *Crist*, l. 2—the third place in which the word occurs. Hicketier (*Anglia*, xi, p. 366) understands *wealhstan* and translates 'Roman stone.' The quality of Roman building at Bath is such that in the

ruins of the great bath there can be seen half an archway and much of the adjacent wall which, after a fall of over twenty feet, still remains intact.

þæs. With Sieper and Schücking I take *þæs* as a variant of *þes*, though the form according to Sievers, § 338, Anm. 4, occurs only in northern texts. Earlier editors took it to be gen. sing., but this involves an unusual construction. The poem contains rather more dialectal forms than is usual, e.g. *ældo*, *-eotone*, *waldend*, *forweorone*, *geleorone*, *cnea*, and perhaps *sylfor*, besides the common poetic *hafað*, *waldend*.

2. *Enta geweorc*. The same phrase occurs in the *Gnomic Verses* (Cotton.), l. 2, in the passage (referring to Roman buildings) quoted above. Cf. also the *Wanderer*, l. 87 and n.

4. *Hrim geat torras*. The text is probably corrupt. Thorpe reads *hrim geat-torras berofen* ('The hoar gate-towers despoiled') but suggests an emendation to *hrimge* (*hrimige*)? *berofne*? Ettmüller, *hreorge torras*, *hrym-geat behrofen* (or *hrymgeatu behrofenu*). Klipstein, *hreorge torras hrimge torras berofene*. Grein², *hrungeat* ('balkentor', 'gattertor') -*torras* (or merely *hrungeat*) *berofen*. Sieper emends to *hrimge* but gives no lit. transl. Schücking emends to *hringgeat* which he translates 'Ring-tor.'

5. *Scurbeorg(e)*, a *ἀπ. λεγ.*, lit. 'protection against storms.' Some editors interpret this as meaning 'roofs' or buildings generally.

6. *Hafað...oþ...gewitan*, lit. 'has been holding...perished and gone...until (now)...have passed away.' This seems to me preferable to taking *gewitan* in a future sense.

7. *Waldend wyrhtan*; perhaps rather to be taken as parallel to such compounds as *wine-dryhten* than as a true *dvandva* (like *suhter-gefederan* in *Beowulf*, l. 1164). Possibly however it should be read *waldend*, *wyrhtan*.

8. *Cnea* appears to be a non-W.S. form. Cf. *trea*, Ps. Vesp. 73, 5. Some editors, e.g. Sieper, Schücking, etc., emend to *cne[ow]a* for metrical reasons.

10. *Ræghar*. It is curious that most editors take the first element as coming from *ræge*, 'she-goat,' instead of from *ragu*, 'lichen.' Sieper (*Die altenglische Elegie*, p. 231) regards it as referring to the grey sandstone of which the Roman buildings of Bath were largely constructed.

readfah was thought by Earle to refer to the stains made on the stone by the oxide of iron contained in the mineral springs; but these stains would hardly reach the arches, and the word more probably refers to the prevailing colour of the internal walls, whether of bricks or mortar or painted plaster work. Cf. also *teaforgeapa*, l. 23. Cf. J. Ward, *Romano-British Buildings and Earthworks*, London, 1911, p. 283, etc. Cf. also the *Wanderer*, l. 98 n. The walls of the great bath-house were entirely lined with red plaster made of powdered Roman brick, which was afterwards polished. Much of this red plaster still remains adhering to the walls.

11. *Steap geap gedreas*. During the latter part of the Roman occupation the great bath appears to have had a vaulted roof, of which the fallen arch referred to in l. 1 above formed a part. Other fragments of the roof are still to be seen on the floor of the great bath.

geap. This word presents difficulties. The early editors took it to be a substantive (as also in l. 23); but no such word is recognised by the dictionaries, though (if Sieper is right in taking the vowel as short) we might compare O. N. *gap* in *Ginnungagap*. Cf. also the gloss

geap, 'cornas,' with Toller's remark (Suppl. *s.v.* *geap*), with which we may possibly compare late L. *cornā*, 'angle.' 'Kirkland (*American Journal of Philology*, Vol. VII, 1886, p. 367 f.) suggests a wk. n. sing. *geapa* but does not translate.'

13. *Wirum*, perhaps the iron rods or cramps with which the Roman masons sometimes laced together the large stones of their masonry. Cf. J. Ward, *Romano-British Buildings and Earthworks*, p. 232 f.

14. *Burnsele*, i.e. presumably 'bathing chambers.' Cf. l. 31 ff.

17. *Op þæt*, etc. Cf. the *Wanderer*, l. 107.

19. *Secgrof*, a Ḅ. λεγ. B. and T. transl. '(death carried off) the host of men.' Cf. O. H. G. *ruaba*, 'numerus.' Gr. Kōh. transl. *ense strenuus*, and add *-ra* (g. pl.).

23. *Teaforgeapa*. Cf. l. ix above and n. I have taken *teaforgeapa* as a compound adj. with most recent editors—Kluge, Sieper, Schücking, etc. Cf. Gr. Kōh. *s.v.* *Teafor* is used to gloss *minium*, 'vermilion' or 'red ochre.' Cf. B. and T. *s.v.* The allusion is probably to the colour of Roman tiles or bricks.

tigelum sceadeð, etc. Cf. ll. 1 and 10, notes. The roof of the great bath appears to have been composed wholly of red tiles, many of which still lie about the sides and on the bottom of the bath.

24. *Hrostbeag*. See B. and T. *s.v.* Grein² reads *hrost-beages hrof*, 'the gable or summit of the woodwork of the roof,' translating *hrost-beag* as 'corona canterium'; so also Schücking. Kirkland (*Amer. Journ. of Philol.* VII, p. 367) and Sieper keep the ms. reading. The former translates *beages rof* as 'renowned for its treasures,' and *hrost* as 'roof,' standing here for 'house' (cf. L. *tectum*). Sieper translates 'the roof renowned for its treasures' and refers to the wonderful gable decoration, frieze and capitals of the Roman temple which have been found at Bath.

hryre...gecrong. Toller transl. 'the ruin sank to earth.' Gr. Kōh. take *hryre* as instr. and apparently translate '(*hrostbeages hrof*) fell to the ground in ruins,' but the accusative does not appear to be used elsewhere in this way. *Hryre-wong* might possibly be taken as the nom. of a compound, but I cannot find any certain parallel for this use of *wong*. I suspect a corruption of the text.

30. *Bradán rices*. *Burh* seems here to be used almost in the sense of 'capital' (cf. *Cantwara-burh*). This is preferable to taking *br. ri.* as a descriptive gen.

31. *Stream...wylme*, lit. 'a stream cast forth heat (noun, d. sing.) or hotly (adv.) in broad surge.' *Stream* may allude to the water rising from the springs, which at Bath are situated under the supply cistern close to the baths (cf. Haverfield in the *Vict. County Hist. of Somerset*, Vol. I, p. 244). This hot current is conveyed in a broad lead-lined culvert to the great bath, etc.

weal eall befeng, etc. Sieper regards this as a reference to the great octagonal wall of the reservoir enclosing the chief spring in Roman times, cf. *Die altengl. Elegie*, p. 233. Cf. Haverfield in the *Vict. County Hist. of Somerset*, Vol. I, p. 249 f.

xxx. *Hat on hreþre*. With Sieper I take *on hreðre* with *baþu* (cf. *Beowulf*, l. 3148; *Crist and Satan*, l. 99?), though I do not know how to preserve the metaphor in a translation.

leton þonne geotan, etc. The following passage no doubt contained a description, as Sieper suggests (*Die altengl. Elegie*, p. 233), of the way in which the hot water was conducted through the great culvert from

the reservoir to the great bath, whose 'grey stone' floor was covered with lead. L. xxxv clearly refers to the arrangements of the baths.

xxxii, xxxiii. *Hringmere*. If Bath is the scene of the *Ruin*, could this refer to the circular Roman bath excavated in 1885? Cf. Haverfield in the *Vict. County Hist. of Somerset*, Vol. I, p. 244. For the use of *mere* as applying to a cistern, see B. and T. s.v. III.

THE BATTLE OF BRUNANBURH

2. *Beorn(a)*. Cf. the *Wanderer*, l. 70 n.

3. *Eadmund æþeling*. Under his brother Aethelstan he sometimes signs charters as *clito* or *frater regis*. He was afterwards king, 939—946.

5. *Brunnanburh*. The mss. (with Symeon of Durham) have *Brunnan-*, but the first *n* is deleted in A. The other authorities have *Brunan-*. Cf. p. 60, n. 1 (with Sax. Chron. E, F).

Bordweal. Cf. *Beowulf*, l. 2980; probably a military term expressive of the close ranks in which the warriors of the time fought, holding their shields before them. There is no evidence to show that the *bordweall* was formed of a line of locked shields, like the L. *testudo* with which it has sometimes been compared. The round wooden shields of the Anglo-Saxons, which appear to have been of no great strength apart from the iron bosses, were less suitable for such a purpose than the shields of the Romans. Cf. C. Oman, *A History of the Art of War* (London, 1898), p. 71, footnote 1.

6. *Hamora lafan*. Cf. *Beowulf*, l. 2829, and the other references given by B. and T. s.v. *laf* II, especially Riddle 71, l. 3, '*eom wraþra laf, fyres and feole*,' '...the leaving of foes, of fire and of file.'

7. *Swa him*, etc. Cf. *Genesis*, l. 2771.

8. *Cneomægum*. The origin of the word is probably to be traced to the conception of grades of relationship as analogous to the joints of the human body. Cf. the Laws of Aethelred, VI, 12; North. Priests' Law 61. Cf. also the term *heafodmæg*, *Beowulf*, ll. 588, 2151; and *cneo*, in the *Ruin*, l. 8.

þa...ealgodon. Cf. *Hákonarmál*, str. 4.

11. *Scipflotan*, i.e. Anlaf's forces which had come by sea from Dublin, described as *guma norþerna* in l. 18.

12. *Feld dænnede*, etc. This difficult word has given rise to many conjectures which are enumerated and discussed by Tupper in the *Journal of Engl. and Germ. Philol.* Vol. II, 1912, p. 91 f. There can be little doubt that, as Price suggests, the word is identical with Norse *dynja*, 'to pour.' He translates 'the field flowed with warriors' blood.' Cf. *Njáls Saga* (Copenh. ed., 1772), ch. 176 '*dunði þá blóðit um hann allan*.'

15. *Glad ofer grundas*, etc. Cf. *Beowulf*, ll. 2072, 2073, etc.; *rodoros candel*, *ib.* 1572.

16, 17. *Oð...setle*. Cf. the *Heliand*, l. 2819.

18. *Garum ageted*. Cf. Kock, 'Jubilee Jaunts and Jottings' in *Lunds Universitets Årsskrift*, 1918, p. 1.

guma norþerna. In the Saxon Chronicle *Norþmen* seems regularly to

mean 'Norwegians,' but it is uncertain whether *norþerne* is always used in this sense, e.g. *an.* 890. According to the Irish Annals the population of Dublin consisted partly of *Dubhgaill* and partly of *Finnngaill*, which terms are usually supposed to mean Danes and Norwegians respectively. It was the latter however who originally founded this city, and perhaps they formed the predominant Scandinavian element.

28 f. *Fife...cyninges giunge.* For details of the slain cf. Introduction, p. 61 above.

33. *Norðmanna bregu*, cf. Introduction, p. 62 above.

35. *Cread...flot*, lit. 'The bark pressed afloat (and) the king,' etc. *On flot* (O. Norse *á flot*; cf. A.S. *on flote*), lit. 'into water deep enough to enable a ship to float.' *Creodan* is a rare word in Anglo-Saxon. It occurs again in Riddle 4, l. 28, where it seems to denote waves dashing against the cliffs. Cf. B. and T. s.v. *hopgehnæst*. Miss A. J. Robertson tells me that the same word occurs in the heading to cap. 2 of the Laws of Edgar I, ms. B, with a similar meaning. The word is not very rare in later times (in the sense 'to press, drive, or hasten on.' Cf. *N.E.D.* s.v. *Crowd* 2).

39. *Hreman ne þorfte.* Cf. ll. 44, 47. For the repetition Schücking compares the *Dream of the Rood*, ll. 35, 42, 45 (*Kleines angelsächsisches Dichterbuch*, Cöthen, 1919, p. 72).

40. *Maga sceard.* *Sceard*, *gefylled*, *beslagen* are all n. sing. referring to Constantine; but it is hardly possible to translate the passage literally.

42. *His sunu forlet.* This prince appears to be nowhere mentioned, unless he is the 'Ceallach, Prince of Scotland,' who is said to have been killed in the great battle described in Annal 931 (937) of the *Annals of Clonmacnoise*. The Pictish Chronicle, An. 934, has: 'In xxxiv ejus anno bellum Duinbrunde ubi cecidit filius Constantini.'

47. *Hlehhan ne þorftun.* Cf. *Juliana*, l. 526.

53. *Nægledcnearrum.* For this phrase cf. O. Sax. *negilið skip* and the parallel expression *nægledbord*, Riddle 59, l. 5; *Genesis*, l. 1433.

54. *Dinges mere.* The name is unexplained. It would seem to mean the Irish Sea or some portion of it.

60. *Letan him behindan*, etc. The eagle, raven, and wolf form part of the traditional epic features of the picture of a battle in A.S. poetry. Cf. *Beowulf*, l. 3024 ff.; *Elene*, l. 110 ff. In *Judith*, l. 205 ff., the resemblance to this passage is so close that a literary connection between the two has been suggested by Cook (cf. *Judith*, Boston, 1904), p. xxii.

61. *Saluwigpadan.* Cf. *Be Manna Wyrðum*, l. 37.

62. *Hasewan padan.* Cf. *Hrafnsmál*, str. 4 (*hösfjaðri*).

63. *Earn æftan hwit*, no doubt the white-tailed eagle (*Haliaëtus albicilla*). As late as the early years of last century it nested in the N.W. of England and S.W. of Scotland, but now rarely breeds south of Shetland.

68. *Þæs þe us secgað bec.* Cf. Sax. Chron. (A, B, C) *sub an.* 973, l. 14. The ref. to *Engle and Seaxe* (l. 70) comes ultimately no doubt from Bede, *H. E.* I, 15.

69. *Ealde uðwitan*, strictly in apposition to *bec*, lit. 'books, our ancient sages.'

THE HRAFNSMÁL

Note the following exceptional forms :

gjængr (Icel. *gengr*) str. 3, *síst* (Icel. *sýst* from *sýsla*), str. 13.

p. 78. *Vitinn...faðmbyggvi*, i.e. slain, those who died in battle being regarded as passing to Valhöll and at the same time as being sacrificed to Othin. It was not uncommon to dedicate an enemy's army to Othin before the commencement of a battle. Cf. the *Saga of Hrómund Greipsson*, ch. 2; *Saga of Hervör and Heithrek*, ch. 14; *Styrbjarnar þáttr*, ch. 2, etc. etc. Cf. also Chadwick, *The Cult of Othin* (London, 1899), p. 6 ff.

einbyggja...faðmbyggvi, i.e. Othin. Cf. *Völuspá*, str. 28, 29; *Gylfaginning*, ch. 15.

p. 79, 1. *Annat skulu*. Munch and Unger understand this strophe to be put in the mouth of some man of the Danish court expressing his contempt of Harold the Fairhaired, whom he has probably not hitherto known as a warlike king. They emend *þær* to *þeir* and take *ambáttir Ragnhildar* as voc.: transl. 'They shall have something else to relate over their cups, ye gallant dames, handmaidens of Ragnhildr, than that ye are battle-lynxes (i.e. wolves), whom Harold has (hitherto) stinted,' etc.

ambáttir Ragnhildar. Ragnhildr was the chief wife of Harold the Fairhaired, and was called *Ragnhildr in ríka*. She was the daughter of Eric, king of Jutland, and mother of Eric Blóðöx. It is said that when King Harold married her he put away nine of his other wives. Cf. the *Saga of Harold the Fairhaired* (*Heimskringla*), ch. 21.

2. *Holmryggjum*. Cf. p. 188.

Hörða meyjum. Hörðaland was the district surrounding the Hardanger Fjord.

hverri...Heinversku. Heiðmörk (now *Hedemarken*) in the east of Norway.

Hölga ættar, i.e. the people of Hálogaland. For Hölgi (the husband or father of Thorgerðr Hölgaþrúðr) see Saxo, Book III, p. 87; *Skáldskaparmál*, ch. 44.

konungr enn kynstóri, i.e. King Harold. Cf. the *Battle of Hafsfjord*, str. 1.

konu Danska, i.e. Ragnhildr. Cf. str. above.

1. *Hljóði hringberendr*, lit. 'Let those who wear bracelets, torques, etc., hearken' (cf. *Beowulf*, ll. 623, 3017), or possibly 'who carry swords.' Cf. F. Jónsson, *Dict. s. v.*

avarauðgha, i.e. *afar-*. So Munch and Unger, Wisén and F. Jónsson. Wisén (following in part the text of Munch and Unger in their *Læsebog*, Christiania, 1847) has conjecturally restored the text of the entire poem in *Carmina Norrœna* (Lund, 1886), p. 11 ff. A more recent restoration of the text is that of F. Jónsson in his edition of the *Fagrskinna* (Copenhagen, 1902-3), pp. 6-12, footnotes.

frá málom...dæmde. The sentence does not seem to be strictly syntactical. The simple form of the sentence would be '*er mæð...við hramn dæmde*'; but it is turned into a dependent clause by the introduction of the phrase *ek...hæyrði*, after which one would have expected an infinitive.

2. *Verar...kunni*. I have followed v. Friesen in emending *sva-* to *fei-*, but there is a serious corruption in the text. Munch and Unger read *vig þ. v., værar ne váru, þekk er þó in fránleita*, etc., and suggest (cf. note in ed., p. 137) 'The valkyrie thought herself warlike, (and though valkyries in general) are not gentle, yet she is charming, she the bright-eyed one, who,' etc. Wisén read (*værar né váru*) *þekk's þó en fránleita*, 'restless were the valkyries—yet charming was the bright-eyed maid.' The reading given in ms. A (2) *þeckir fenno hinni framleito* would translate 'no pleasure did the bright-eyed Finnish maid take (in men).' For a discussion of this and the following passage see O. v. Friesen, *Ark. f. nord. Filol.*, Vol. 14 (1902), p. 62 ff.

glægghvarma, lit. 'with shining eyelid.' Wisén, F. Jónsson, etc. follow the variant reading *glæhvarma*, and they and Munch and Unger transpose *kverkhvita* and *glæhvarma* for the sake of the alliteration.

Hýmiss hausræyti. The expression is unexplained. Munch and Unger suggested that *Hýmir* is to be taken as referring to *Ýmir*, the primeval giant from whose skull the sky was formed (cf. *Vafþrúðnismál*, str. 21), in which case *Hýmiss hausræyti* might mean 'sky-plucker,' i.e. bird; but no confusion between *Hýmir* and *Ýmir* is found elsewhere. In *Hýmiskviða*, str. 31 it is stated that 'Hýmir's skull is harder than any jar.' It is conceivable that *Hýmir* is introduced here as a 'spirit of the rocky waste' (cf. *Hýmiskviða*, str. 27); but more probably the expression is due to some lost myth.

á horne vinbjarga. The meaning of *v.* is uncertain. F. Jónsson (cf. Dict. s.v.) translates: 'klipper ved (omgivende) enge.' Wisén suggested *hömrum* for *hornum* (cf. *hamrabjarg*, cited by Vigfusson, Dict. s.v. *bjarg*); von Friesen (*Ark. f. nord. Filol.*, Vol. 14 (1902), p. 66 f.) takes *vinbjarga* to be for *vindbjarga* (i.e. clouds), and *er* as referring to the valkyrie (cf. *Helgakviða Hundingsbana II*, str. 4).

3. *Nær...liggja*, lit. 'Ye have passed the night, I think, where ye knew the dead were lying.'

4. *Höfjaðri*, cf. *The Battle of Brunanburh*, l. 62.

5. *Á Kvinnum*, unknown, perhaps in Hörðaland. Cf. F. Jónsson, Dict. s.v.

djúpum ræðr, etc. For details of Scandinavian battleships in the Viking Age, see Kr. Kálund in Paul's *Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie*, Bd. III (Strassburg, 1900), pp. 464—470; Montelius, *Kulturgeschichte Schwedens* (Leipzig, 1906), p. 259 ff.

roðnum röndum. Cf. the ships on the Bayeux Tapestry. See C. A. Stothard in *Vetusta Monumenta*, London, 1885, Vol. vi, Plates 1, 2, 6, 8—10.

6. *Fræys...hæfja*, generally interpreted as 'fight'; but Freyr is not elsewhere a god of war. Cf. Vigfusson, Dict. s.v. *leikr*.

elldvelli, a Æn. λέγ. F. Jónsson translates 'baking,' 'warming (one-self ?) by the fire.'

vattu. Vigfusson suggested 'pillows,' but gives no other reference for this use of the word.

7. *Hversso er*, etc. Munch and Unger understand the construction to be *hversso er féggjofull ógnflýtir þeim, er fold verja*, (ok) við ítra íþróttarmenn sína, 'what of the generosity which the martial leader shows to those who guard the land and to his splendid champions.' F. Jónsson emends (cf. Dict. s.v. *ítr*) to *ítrir íþróttarmem*.

8. *Hýnum værpa*. The reference is to the game of *hneftafl*, also called *King Ítrek's Game*, which appears to have had certain features in common with chess, and which was played in Scandinavia and Iceland

till the introduction of the latter game, probably in the thirteenth century. It would seem that, like the Welsh *tawlbwrdd*, it was played between sides composed, the one of sixteen 'fair' (white) men, the other of a king (called *knefi* or *húnn*) and eight 'dark' (black) men. Three of the riddles of *Gestumblindi* refer to this game (cf. *Hervarar Saga*, ch. 11). In one of these the *húnn* is described as 'that beast which slays people's flocks and is girt around with iron. It has eight horns, yet no head, and it runs when it can.' The answer is: 'That is the *húnn* in *kneftafl*. It has the same name as a bear. It runs as soon as it is thrown.' For further details see H. J. R. Murray, *A History of Chess* (Oxford, 1913), Appendix 1, 'Chess in Iceland,' pp. 443—446.

malme Húnlenskum. Does this mean steel, or gold? F. Jónsson understands the latter, and compares *Vála malme* in *Hindluljóð*, str. 9. For *Húnlensk* cf. note to the *Battle of the Goths and Huns*, str. 2.

9. *Hömlur*, the strap in which the oar was secured, generally in small ships. It was itself fastened to a *hár* or upright-standing curved piece of wood, against which the oar worked.

10. *At skallda reiðo*. It is interesting to compare with this passage the position of the Welsh poets as set forth in the Welsh Laws. Cf. Wade-Evans, *Welsh Medieval Law* (Oxford, 1909), pp. 167 f., 179 f.

greppa ferðir. The meaning of this expression is not clear. Fritzner, Gering, etc. understand *greppr* to mean a warrior (cf. *garpr*). *ferðir greppa* would then mean 'the expeditions of his warriors.' Vígfusson, Wisén and F. Jónsson however understand *greppr* to mean 'a poet,' 'skald,' and *ferðir greppa* 'troops of poets.'

11. *Faghrrendaðom*, a doubtful form which does not occur elsewhere. Vígfusson emends to *-rendum* (cf. Dict. *s.v.* *fagr-rendr*). Von Friesen (following B) suggests *fáðom rondum*, 'with painted shields'.

silfrvöðum. Munch and Unger and F. Jónsson, 'wound round with silver thread.' Wisén 'argento revinctus.'

12. *Bersærkja*. Cf. p. 88 above; cf. also *Ynglinga Saga*, ch. 6; Du Chaillu, *The Viking Age* (London, 1889), Vol. II, p. 423 ff.

fenget. Munch and Unger, followed by Wisén, emend to *fagnid*. The former also read *þér* instead of *er*, following ms. B 1; translate 'How do you like the martial heroes,' etc.

13. *Áræðesmönnum*, etc. Cf. the *Saga of Harold the Fairhaired* (*Heimskringla*), ch. 9.

í skjöld höggva, lit. 'strike upon the shield.'

14. *Ærgáti*. So F. Jónsson, who translates 'royal entertainment, amusement.' Munch and Unger emended to *örgan*, 'grimaces, gestures.' Wisén translated 'oblectamentum, quo hospites excipiuntur.'

Anndaðr. F. Jónsson suggests that the more correct form of the name would be *Qnduðr*, cf. German *Andahad*. In his opinion the juggler was undoubtedly a German; cf. Dict. *s.v.* *Andaðr*. Nothing is known of him; but in ms. R of *The Saga of Hervör and Heiðrek*, ch. 11, the answer to the riddle about *King Ítrek's Game* reads '*þat er Ítrekr ok Andaðr, er þeir sitja at tafli sínu*.' For a different explanation see M. Ólsen, 'Til Haraldskvæði 23' in *Ark. f. nord. Filol.*, Vol. 27 (1914), p. 381 f.; cf. also *Maal og Minne*, 1913, p. 66 ff.

logandum húfum, etc. The latter half of this strophe is obscure. F. Jónsson understands the passage to refer to some conjuring trick. He regards *hafa sér* as equivalent to *hafask* (cf. *Lex. s.v. hafa*, 13, c). For *húfum* Vígfusson and Powell read *lúfum* and translate: 'The tripping fellows tuck their flaming shock-locks under their belts.'

THE BATTLE OF HAFSFIJORD

1. *Í Hafsfirði*. Hafsfiord is a small fiord on the west coast of Rogaland. Cf. p. 88 above. Wisén and F. Jónsson appear to take *í Hafsfirði* with the vocative, and translate: 'You can hear in H. how,' etc., which certainly renders the order of the words more intelligible; but the variant readings suggest that difficulty was felt with this passage in early times.

konungr enn kynstóri, i.e. Harold the Fairhaired. F. Jónsson thinks a deliberate contrast is offered by the adjectives *kynstóri* and *auðlagðr*, lineage being held of greater account than wealth.

Kjötva...auðlagða. It was suggested by G. Storm that Haklangr (cf. str. 3 below) and Kjötvi were identical with Olaf the White and his father Guðröðr. His paper has not been accessible to me, but a reference is given to it by Sir H. H. Howorth in the *Saga Book of the Viking Club*, Vol. ix, p. 172 ff. Olaf the White disappears from Irish history about this time, and it is stated in the *Three Fragments of Annals* (ed. J. O'Donovan, Dublin, 1860), *sub an.* 871, that he went to Lochlann, which is generally identified with Norway. He had ruled over Dublin for about twenty years.

knerrir...tinglum, cf. *Landnámabók*, iv, ch. 7. The battleships of the Viking Age were frequently elaborately carved, especially at the prow and stern, which generally took the form of the head of a dragon or other animal. Cf. *Hrafnsmál*, str. 5 note.

2. *Hvítra skjalda*. According to F. Jónsson the 'white' shields were foreign. Cf. *Glymdrápa*, str. 4.

vestraenna, i.e. 'from the British Isles.' The preceding seventy-five years had been a period of constant raids in the British Isles, and by this time a considerable Norwegian population was settled there, especially in Dublin, the Hebrides and Orkney.

Valskra, prob. 'from Valland,' i.e. France, unless the word is a tradition from earlier (Roman) times. We may perhaps cf. the word *frakka* (spear) in *Rígsþula*, str. 35, A.S. *franca*, if this word is derived from the name of the Franks (*Frakkar*, A.S. *Francon*). Cf. also *superne gar*, *Battle of Maldon*, l. 134.

berserkr. Cf. *Hrafnsmál*, str. 12 note.

á sinnum. Vígfusson, F. Jónsson, etc., translate 'was drawing to a close'; cf. *Rígsþula*, str. 31.

ulfhæðnar, i.e. berserkr. Cf. Vígfusson, Dict. *s.v.* *berserkr*.

3. *Austmanna*. F. Jónsson takes this to mean Norwegians generally, in which sense the word is often used to distinguish the people of the homeland from those who had settled in the West. But is this sense really appropriate here? Harold's original kingdom was in the East, viz. Vestfold, near the Christiania Fjord.

at Ústeini. It is a question whether we should not translate 'is residing,' and take the passage as referring to temporary quarters, for which purpose the position of the island would obviously be suitable. Cf. p. 89 above. In this case we should perhaps (with Wisén and F. Jónsson) understand *h. í Haf*. (str. 1, l. 1) as an address to the audience.

stóðum...brá, lit. 'He set in motion the studs of Nökkvi.' Nökkvi, according to F. Jónsson, is the name of a sea-king. Cf. *Hyndluljóð*, str. 20; *Thulur*, III, 1. One of the kings killed at the Battle of Sólshel was called Nökkvi. Cf. the *Saga of Harold the Fairhaired* (*Heimskringla*), ch. 10.

stillir. So most editors, e.g. Munch and Unger, Nygaard, Wisén, etc. The latter omits *Nökkvi*. F. Jónsson omits, regarding it as a later addition. Cf. his edition of the *Heimskringla* (Copenhagen, 1893-1901), p. 124, footnote. Cf. also str. 1 above, n.

Haklangr, i.e. Thórir Haklangr, perhaps king of Agðir. Cf. p. 88 above, footnote 2.

4. *Lúfu*, i.e. Harold. The nickname was given to him in the early part of his career in consequence of a vow which he made not to cut or comb his hair till he was ruler of all Norway. Cf. the *Saga of Harold the Fairhaired* (*Heimskringla*), ch. 4. When the conditions were fulfilled he had his hair washed and combed, and was afterwards called 'Harold the Fairhaired' (*ib.* ch. 23).

hilmir enum halsdigra, F. Jónsson emends (cf. ed. 1913) to *hilmir enn halsdigri*; but *leiðask* is used impersonally elsewhere. Cf. Dict. *s.v.* The *hilmir* referred to is Kjötvi. According to F. Jónsson there is a touch of irony here and throughout the poem, e.g. *es þeim flæja kendi*, str. 3. He understands the meaning to be that although a bully (cf. his 'thick neck'), yet he showed no inclination, etc.

holm lét sér at skjaldi, i.e. (according to Munch and Unger, F. Jónsson, etc.) they landed and used the island as a vantage ground. According to the latter authority the *holmr* is a small island in Hafs fjord.

5. *Sváfnis salnæfrar*, lit. 'made Sváfnir's hall shingles to glitter on their backs'—an allusion to the shields with which the roof of Valhöll was thatched. Cf. *Grímnismál*, str. 9 (*skjöldum salr þakibr*). *Næfrar*, strictly 'shingles of birchwood.' *Sváfnir*, a name of Othin, cf. *Grímnismál*, str. 54; *Thulur*, IV, 4.

byggjandi, ironical according to F. Jónsson.

austr kylfur. Early editors (e.g. Munch and Unger, Nygaard, Wisén) printed *auðkylfur*, following ms. F, and translate 'rich men.' Vigfusson and F. Jónsson read *austkylfur* (-ir V.). The former translated 'eastlings,' and compared the *Kylfingar* east of the Baltic. F. Jónsson translates 'Eastern logs.' Cf. Dict. *s.v.* *austkylfa*. Cf. also note 4 *s.v.* *hilmir e. h.* above.

Jaðar(r), the district of Rogaland which juts out to the south of Hafs fjord, in the S.W. corner of Norway. The *Austkylfur* ('Eastern logs') are those of the confederates who had come from Agðir and Thelamörk.

hugðu á mjöðdrykkju. The passage seems to suggest that the author thought that the confederates in question were more keen on drinking than on fighting. Cf. also the terms (contemptuous?) *auðlagða*, *austkylfur*, and possibly *hilmir halsdigri*. It is to be borne in mind, however, that the poem is probably incomplete.

THE EIRÍKSMÁL

1. *Drauma*. Wisén, following ms. 757 of Snorri's Edda, reads *dæma*, 'What marvel is this?' In this case *hugðumk* should no doubt be translated 'I was intending to.'

firi dag litlu. Munch and Unger and Wisén, following the text of Snorri's Edda, have *fyr dag rísa*, '(I thought I was) rising before day.'

Valhöll, lit. 'the abode of warriors who have died in battle.' Cf. *Grimnismál*, str. 8; *Gylfaginning*, ch. 20, 36, 38—41. *riðja*: Icel. *ryðja*.

einherja(r), cf. *Hákonarmál*, str. 16, note.

becki at strá, etc. In the homes of kings and other wealthy people it was the custom to make elaborate preparations before a feast. The walls were hung with tapestry and the benches spread with cloth or fur. Cf. *Thrymskviða*, str. 22; *Vegtamskviða*, str. 6.

borðkær. Wisén and F. Jónsson translate 'table service' or 'plate.' *lyðra*: Icel. *leyðra*.

valkyrjur vín bera. Cf. *Gylfaginning*, ch. 36, where the valkyries are said to attend to the mugs and table service as well as to the pouring out of the wine.

svá. F. Jónsson takes *svá* with *glatt*; but does it not rather mean 'under these circumstances'?

2. *Hvat þrymr*, etc. Most editors (e.g. Munch and Unger, Wisén, F. Jónsson, Holthausen, etc.) divide this strophe between Othin and Bragi, assigning ll. 1 and 2 to the former, and ll. 3 and 4 to the latter. It may be observed however that Bragi's answer does not seem to be particularly appropriate to the question, nor does str. 3 harmonise well with the opening lines of str. 2, if the latter is spoken by Othin. Possibly there is a corruption in l. 1; in the original text the whole strophe may have been assigned to Bragi, and it has been so taken in Nygaard's ed. Elsewhere in the poem the speaker is generally indicated by the phrase '*qvað*—' rather than by the use of the vocative.

Bragi, the skald of the Æsir. Cf. *Grimnismál*, str. 44; *Lokasenna*, str. 8 ff.; *Gylfaginning*, ch. 26; *Bragarræður*, passim.

Balldr. For the fullest account of Balder's death, cf. *Gylfaginning*, ch. 49.

í Óðins sale, i.e. *Valhöll*, cf. str. 1 above.

3. *Scallt þu*. Munch and Unger emend to *skalattu*; so also Wisén; Nygaard, *skaltu*; Holthausen (1896) and F. Jónsson (1913) *skalatt*. Cannot *scallt* be used here to express a suggestion in the mind of the speaker? Cf. the use of *skal* in Modern Danish.

þó at, so mss. (*þóat*) followed by Nygaard. Munch and Unger emended to *þviat*; Wisén, Holthausen and F. Jónsson (1913) to *þvít*. The emended texts would translate 'Thou must not talk folly, thou wise Bragi,—for thou knowest everything well.'

4. *Sigmundr oc Sinfjatlí*. For the story of Sigmundr and Sinfjötli see *Völsungasaga*, ch. 7 ff. (cf. *Beowulf*, l. 874 ff.). Sigmundr was the father also of Helgi, the hero of the two *Helgakviður Hundingsbana*, and of the still more famous Sigurðr, the hero of several poems of the *Edda*.

5. *Því at margu lannde*, etc. For Eric's adventures, cf. the *Saga of Harold the Fairhaired* (*Heimskringla*), ch. 34 f.

6. *Því...goða*. For the phrase *því...vita*, cf. *Hávamál*, str. 38. The passage seems to be anacoluthic. The sentence 'It cannot be known (when)—' being cut short by a new idea, 'the wolf is (even now) gazing,' etc.

ulfr, i.e. the wolf of Fenrir, cf. *Hákonarmál*, str. 20, note.

7. *Væl...kominn!* Cf. *Fjölsvinnsmál*, str. 48.

8. *Konongar eru V*. For the fall of Eric and the five kings cf. the *Saga of Haakon the Good* (*Heimskringla*), ch. 4.

THE HÁKONARMÁL

1. *Göndul ok Skögun* (also *Geirskögun*, cf. str. 12) are valkyries whom Othin appoints to decide the course of the battle. Cf. *Völuspá*, str. 31; *Grímnismál*, str. 36, etc.

Gautatýr. *Gautr*, *Váföðr* (cf. str. 5) and *Hroptatýr* (cf. str. 14) are all names applied by Othin to himself in *Grímnismál*, str. 54. *Gautatýr* would seem originally to have meant the god (cf. *tívar*, pl.) of the Gautar, i.e. the inhabitants of Götaland in the south of Sweden, the *Geatas* of *Beowulf*. The word is also extended to mean men in general. Cf. F. Jónsson, *Dict. s.v.* Cf. also *Darraðarljóð*, str. 8, note; *Sonatorrek*, str. 21.

Yngvi is a surname of Freyr, from whom the royal family of Norway claimed descent. The genealogy is given in *Ynglingatal* and *Ynglingasaga*. at, adv. cf. *atvist*.

2. *Bróður...Bjarnar*, i.e. King Haakon. Björn, son of Harold the Fairhaired and Svanhildr (cf. the *Saga of Harold the Fairhaired—Heimskringla*, ch. 21), who was made ruler of Vestfold under his father (cf. *ib.* ch. 33), fell at the hands of Eric Blóðöx, his brother, at Sæheimr (cf. *ib.* ch. 35). He was called Björn the Merchant on account of his trading interests. Cf. also *Egils Saga*, ch. 56, 59.

í brynju fara, so Vigfusson and F. Jónsson, cf. *Dicts. s.v. fara*. Cf. also F. Jónsson's edition of the *Heimskringla* (Copenhagen, 1893–1901), Vol. iv, p. 54. This sense does not seem to me to agree very well with str. 4 however. Possibly we may translate 'marching in coat of mail.' The reading of F should not be overlooked.

dolgráar, em. Holthausen; so also F. Jónsson (cf. *Dict. s.v. dolgrǫ*), who translates 'battle-yardarm,' 'battle-rod,' 'spear.' Cf. however *ib. s.v. dolgǫr*, which he translates as 'battle-oar,' 'sword.' The latter (pl. *dolgárar*) is the reading kept by most editors, e.g. Nygaard (*Udvalg af den Norrøne Literatur*, Bergen, 1875, p. 320), Wisén (*Carmina Norræna*, Lund, 1886, p. 16), Wimmer (*Oldnordiske Læsebog*⁴, Copenhagen, 1889, p. 2), following ms. J (1). Unger (*Heimskringla*, Christiania, 1868, p. 104) keeps the text of the *Fagrskinna*, *dölgar*, transl. 'battle,' 'strife.' So also Munch and Unger (*Oldnorsk Læsebog*, Christiania, 1847, p. 115).

3. *Hét*. F. Jónsson translates 'had called upon.'

Háleygi, i.e. the men of Hálogaland, the northern province of ancient Norway, corresponding approximately to the modern Nordland.

Holmrygi, i.e. the men of Rogaland in the south-west of Norway. Cf. p. 79 above. The name is identical with that of the *Rugii* (A.S. *Holmryge*, Jordanes' *Ulmrugii*) on the coast of Pomerania.

einbani. F. Jónsson understands this to mean that Haakon had made his conquests alone, without foreign help. Vigfusson regards *ein*-as intensive.

gjöfti, so Nygaard, Wisén, Wimmer, etc., following mss. J (1), A; Unger gives *göfgi*, following mss. K, B. F. Jónsson quotes this passage under both words in his *Dict.*

gengi Norðmanna. Cf. the *Battle of Brunanburh*, l. 18, note *s.v. guma norþerna*.

Eydana (gen.), lit. 'Danes of the Isles.' Cf. the *Saga of Haakon the Good* (*Heimskringla*), ch. 6–9.

4. *Hrauzk ör herváðum*, etc. From the *Saga of Haakon the Good*, chs. 6 and 30, it would seem to have been Haakon's custom to cast off his helmet and mail coat before beginning to fight. Cf. str. 2 above, note.

skyldi...verja, a parenthesis. Cf. the *Battle of Brunanburh*, l. 7 ff. *gramr.* Wimmer (*Oldnordisk Læsebog*, Copenhagen, 1889, p. 129) emends to *gylfi* following the text of the second half of this strophe quoted in *Skáldskaparmál*, ch. 64.

stóð und gullhjalmi. The gilded helmet appears often to have been the distinguishing feature of a king or prince. Cf. the *Saga of Olaf Tryggvason* (*Heimskringla*), ch. 104; *Saga of St Olaf* (*ib.*), ch. 213 etc. Cf. also *Atlaeviða*, str. 4.

5. *Svá...sverð*, etc. Haakon's sword was called 'Quernbiter' because with it he is said to have once cleft a quern-stone. It was a very fine sword with golden hilts. Haakon had received it as a present from King Aethelstan during his sojourn in England, and he is said to have kept it till his death. Cf. the *Saga of Harold the Fairhaired* (*Heimskringla*), ch. 43.

siklingr, strictly an old dynastic name, but, like other names of this kind, used by poets for 'king' or 'prince' in general. Cf. *Skáldskaparmál*, ch. 63; *Hversu Noregr Byggðist*, ch. 2.

váðir Váfaðar, i.e. armour. *Váføðr* is Othin. Cf. *Thulur*, iv, 5 (*Vøfuðr*).

sem...brygði. For the same expression cf. *Göngu-Hrólfs Saga*, ch. 3; *Hrólfs Saga Gautrekssonar*, ch. 20. Cf. also Ólrik, *Heroic Legends*, etc. pp. 131, 175 (transl. Hollander).

gylmhringar. F. Jónsson adopts the reading of ms. J., *gylfringar*, which he translates 'sword,' and suggests a possible connection with *gjalftr*. Cf. Dict. s.v. *gylfringr*.

gotna (g. pl.), an ancient name of a people (the Goths) which has come to be used merely for men. Cf. str. 1, note s.v. *Gautatýr*.

6. *Tröddusk törgur*, etc. Strophes 6—8 are difficult owing to the number of kennings contained in them. The natural order of the words appears to me to be *törgur ok hausar tröddusk fyr harðfótum bauga Týs Norðmanna*. *Bauga Týr*, lit. 'the god who gives rings' or 'money,' a kenning for king. So also Nygaard, Wimmer, Holthausen, etc. F. Jónsson, however, holds that *törgur* and *hausar* are asyndetic, and that *Norðmanna* can hardly be explained otherwise than as parallel to *bauga Týs*. He regards the position of *ok* as supporting this view.

hjalta harðfótum, lit. 'the sharp feet of the hilt,' i.e. the sword-blade. *í eyju*, i.e. the island (Stordö), the scene of the battle. Cf. p. 101 above. *konungar*, perhaps poet. pl. for sing. Cf. however the reading of F.

7. *Brunnu beneldar*, etc. Again perhaps poet. pl. for sing., referring to the king's sword. Lit. 'the wound-fires burned in bloody wounds.' *Beneldar*, a kenning for 'sword.' Cf. *Skáldskaparmál*, ch. 48: 'Axes or swords are called *fires of blood* or *of wounds*.'

langbarðar, 'swords' according to Wisén, F. Jónsson and Holthausen; 'halberds' according to Nygaard and Wimmer. According to the *Saga of Haakon the Good* (*Heimskringla*), ch. 28, Haakon was armed with a halberd (*kesja*), as well as with a sword. For a description of the *kesja* see *Egils Saga*, ch. 53.

svarraði, a ἄπ. λεγ., lit. 'a *gymir* (myth. personification of the sea) of wounds roared (?) against the headland of swords.'

á sverða nesi. Most editors (e.g. Nygaard, Wisén, Wimmer, F. Jónsson, etc.) take this as a kenning for 'shield,' no doubt on the analogy of such expressions as *hauka nes*, *bauga nes*, *nes orma*, etc. I have taken it to mean 'point of the sword' on analogy with the commoner use of *nes* as the projecting part of the object specified in the preceding genitive. Cf. the kenning *kryggja nes*, 'tail.'

flóð fleina, lit. 'flood of (i.e. from) darts,' a kenning for blood. Cf. F. Jónsson, *Dict. s.v. flóð*. Other kennings for blood are *hjör flóð*, *hræ flóð*, *sar flóð*, *unda flóð*.

8. *Blendusk við roðnum*, etc. So F. Jónsson, Holthausen, etc. Unger, Nygaard, Wisén, Wimmer, etc., following K, have *roðnar* for *roðnum* and *skýs* for *ský* (when the order would be *veðr Sköglar skýs*), translate 'Battle (the storms of the shield [Skögl's cloud]) was joined (mingled) beneath the canopy of the reddened shield, it (they) played around the rims.'

Sköglar veðr, *Óðins veðr*(i) (cf. l. iii), kennings for 'battle.' Cf. *Skáldskaparmál*, ch. 47, 63 (verse); *Háttatal*, str. 54.

baugr, here, 'shield,' originally (according to *Skáldskaparmál*, ch. 48) the circle painted on the shield.

oddlár, lit. 'waves from the spears,' i.e. blood.

fyr mækis straumi, a kenning for 'blood.'

9. *Döglingar*, an old dynastic name like *siklingar* (cf. str. 5). Cf. *Hversu Noregr Bygðist*, ch. 2. This is probably another instance of poet. pl. for sing., referring to the king alone.

ok, used as a relative particle. Cf. *Vafþrúðnismál*, str. 5, etc.

skotnar. So Unger, F. Jónsson, Holthausen, etc., following ms. K. Nygaard, Wisén, Wimmer, etc. give *skornar*, 'rent,' following ms. F.

10. *es Hákon*, etc. Lit. 'Since the Divine Powers have invited Haakon with a great host.'

bönd. The original meaning of the term *bönd* (cf. *Hávamál*, str. 108) is uncertain. The fact that *höpt* is also used of the deities (*Atlakviða*, str. 28) points to identity with 'band,' 'chain.'

13. *Groenna heima goða*. Cf. *Gautreks saga*, ch. 7.

14. *Hermóðr* is the name of the messenger of the Æsir who rode to Hel to seek out Balder and try to ransom him. Cf. *Gylfaginning*, ch. 49. The *Hermóðr* mentioned in *Hyndluljóð*, str. 2, is probably a different person—heroic, not divine—to be identified with the Heremod who is mentioned in connection with Sigemund in *Beowulf*, l. 901 ff. It is uncertain which of the two is intended here. Bragi (see below) is a god; but, on the other hand, the part played by these two persons is clearly suggested by that given to Sigmundr and Sinfjötli in *Eiríksmál*, str. 4.

Hroptatýr. Cf. str. 1, *s.v. Gautatýr*, note. *Hroptr* is also a name for Othin. Cf. *Grímnismál*, str. 8.

sás kappi þykkir, etc. The translation implies that Othin knows who Haakon is. It is possible to translate the passage otherwise, viz. 'who is evidently a hero,' the implication being in this case that Othin has not identified him.

16. *Einherja*(r), the name given to the dead warriors in Valhöll who spend their days in fighting. Cf. *Grímnismál*, str. 18; *Vafþrúðnismál*, str. 41; *Gylfaginning*, ch. 38—41.

þigg þú...öl, etc. Cf. *Grímnismál*, str. 36; *Gylfaginning*, ch. 39.

átta bræðr. For a list (incomplete however) of Harold's sons, cf. *Saga of Harold the Fairhaired* (*Heimskringla*), ch. 21.

17. *Gótt es*, etc. Lit. '(It is good) to reach for what is ready.' Unger, following mss. F, J (1), gives *geirs* for *görs*, transl. 'spear.'

18—21. *Þá þat kyndisk*, etc. There is no doubt a contrast implied here between the happy days of King Haakon and those of Harold

Greycloak, in whose reign the poem was composed. Haakon, though a Christian, never enforced Christianity on his subjects, but let them worship in their own way, thereby offering a strong contrast to Harold and his brothers. Cf. p. 102 f. above. The ill-suppressed hostility of Eyvindr to Harold is no doubt further to be accounted for by the quarrel between them which is related in the *Saga of Harold Grey-cloak* (*Heimskringla*), ch. 1.

20. *Fenrisulfr*. Cf. *Eiríksmál*, str. 6. The wolf of Fenrir was one of Loki's children. It was prophesied that when he broke loose from the fetter and chain with which the Æsir had bound him, he would devour Othin and bring destruction upon the rest of the Æsir. That would be the end of the world or *Ragnarøkkr*. Cf. *Völuspá*, str. 47—58; *Vafþrúðnismál*, str. 46, 47; *Gylfaginning*, ch. 34, 51, etc.

21. *Deyr fé*, from *Hávamál*, str. 77 f. (Cf. the *Wanderer*, l. 108 f. and n.) What follows is a reference to the famine and misery which prevailed in Norway under Haakon's successors. Cf. the *Saga of Harold Grey-cloak*, ch. 17.

THE DARRAÐARLJÓÐ

1. *Vitt es orpit...reiðiský*, perhaps lit. 'The cloth-beam's trappings are spread wide.' Cf. p. 119 above. The *rifr* is the back-beam or cloth-beam of the upright hand-loom, cf. *Rígsþula*, str. 15. The exact force of *reiði-* is uncertain, owing to the variations of the texts at this point. Most scholars (e.g. F. Jónsson and Heusler) read *rifs reiðiský*, following ms. A and derive *reiði* < *reiða*, 'to let hang, carry.' The meaning would then be 'The cloud hung on the cloth-beam,' i.e. the warp. Magnússon, however (*Darraðarljóð*, Viking Club Publications, 1910, p. 14), suggests that as the old genitive of *rifr* was not *rifs* but *rifjar*, the *ský* was added by a late scribe to fill in the shortened line. The word *rifr* however is only found here and in *Rígsþula*.

rignir blóði, perhaps from the loom. Cf. the *War of the Gaedhils with the Gaills*, p. 183 f. With the passage from *Njáls saga* it is interesting to compare *Sturlunga Saga*, pp. 219, 220 (Vígfusson, Oxford, 1878):

'In the winter after the battle on Víðines, many people had dreams. A man in Skagafirð dreamed that he entered a big house; inside sat two women covered with blood and rocking to and fro. It seemed to him that a rain of blood was pouring in through the chimney. One of the women sang:

Let us rock, Guðr and Göndul, let us rock;
A rain of blood is falling, foreboding slaughter.
We must betake ourselves to Rapta-hlíð;
There sacrifice and oaths will be offered to us.'

vefr verþjóðar. F. Jónsson places a comma after *vefr*, and makes *verþjóðar* dependent on *vinur*, 'which the friends (f.) of men will fill with the red woof of Randvér's slayer' (cf. Gk. *Εὐμενίδες*). This however is perhaps a strained view of the valkyries. An emendation of the ms. readings *þær* (E, F) *þær er* (A, I)—perhaps orig. *þá er* through wrong connection with *verþjóðar*—seems to be necessary. Heusler suggests that the original reading may have been (*er*) *vér vinur fylllum*, though he has *er þær vinur fylla* in his text, but the usual emendation to *sás* (*sá er*) is simpler.

vinur...Randvél bana. The phrase is not easy to explain, though there can be no doubt that the whole is a kenning for valkyries. Egilsson, F. Jónsson, etc., take *Randvél bani* to be Jörmunrekr (Eormenric), who, at the instigation of his evil counsellor Bikki, ordered his son Randverr to be hanged. (Cf. *Skáldskaparmál*, ch. 41; Saxo Grammaticus, VIII, pp. 336—338, where Randvér is called Broderus.) Magnússon (*op. cit.* p. 15) and Bugge (*Aarbøgger*, etc., 1899, pp. 253—4) take *Randvél bani* to be Bikki himself by whom they understand a human personation of Othin. The only other person of any consequence bearing this name is Randvér, the son of Rapbarpr and Auþr the Deep-minded (cf. *Hyndluljóð*, str. 29), and father of Sigurðr Hring, (*Hversu Noregr Bygðist*, ch. 3). In *Hervarar Saga*, ch. 16, he is said to be the son of Valdarr. According to *ib.* ms. I, he is said to have married Ása, the daughter of King Harold en Gottrauði from Norway, and to have made himself king of Denmark on the death of his father Valdarr. He is also said in the same source to have fallen in England by a sudden death—‘*Randverr konungr varð bráðdauðr.*’ The name Randver also occurs in the list of sea kings in *Thulur*, str. 4.

It is not known which Randvér is referred to in our poem. In all probability the text is corrupt. It will be seen that the mss. vary considerably, but the other readings hardly give an intelligible sense. Pfeiffer keeps the reading of ms. E. Dietrich reads *randversk*.

2. *vefr*, the threads stretched taut from the cloth-beam (*rifr*). For *vefr*, *skaft* etc., cf. p. 119 above. In weaving, the woof threads are passed between the warp threads. These warp threads hang downwards and are weighted at the bottom. In the old primitive hand-loom the weights (*klé*) were formed of stones and attached to the ends of the threads.

harðkljáðr...manna. The *Jómsvíkinga Saga* (ed. Petersen, Copenhagen, 1882) p. 41 contains a passage—no doubt based on the first two strophes of this poem—in which Ingibjörg relates her dream to Pálner as follows:

‘I dreamed that I had set up a loom, and the warp was of flax and grey in colour; I dreamed that the warp was weighted, and I stood beside it and wove, and there was not much of it woven as far as I could see. And when I slewed the web, a weight fell from the middle of the loom, and I picked it up; and then I saw that the weights were nothing but human heads.’

eru dreyrrekin...sköftum. The *skaft* is one of the bars or rods (‘heddles’) with which the threads of the yarn (i.e. the warp) were alternately brought forward and thrust back, so that the weft might be inserted through the intervening space or ‘shed.’ The rod having been placed in this position was so left during the passage of one strand of weft across the loom. Vígfusson explains the word as ‘one of the beams in the upright loom,’ but this is clearly erroneous; cf. *yllir* (*ib.*) for which he offers the same explanation.

yllir. The exact meaning of this word is unknown. Magnússon, following Vígfusson, understands it to be a ‘beam in the upright loom’ and suggests the ‘forebeam,’ by which he means presumably the lower beam over which hang the weighted ends of the warp. The Scandinavian upright loom appears, however, to have had only one beam (*rifr*). In Paul’s *Grundriss d. germ. Phil.* (Strassburg, 1900), Vol. III, p. 479 the word is explained as an implement used for making plush, i.e. a kind of teasel, and as being derived from *ull*, ‘wool’—the derivation also favoured by Vígfusson.

örum hrælaðr. *Hræla* is explained by Fritzner (*Ordbog. s.v.*) as the act of pulling taut the weft threads with a *hræll* between the warp threads, so as to stretch them and make them even. The *hræll* is a pointed implement of bone or hard wood which was used to carry the weft into its proper place. Vígfusson appears to confuse with 'sleying' which is the next stage in the process of weaving. Magnússon's explanation, 'provided with reed made of arrows' (*sc. vefr*) is nearer the mark, though it involves a chronological difficulty, and overlooks the pl. *sverðum* in the following line, where a single instrument is certainly implied. Both words are no doubt poet. pl. for sing.

slá, to 'sley' or 'beat' the threads of the weft into their proper place so that each shall sit in close juxtaposition to the last, and a close, firm texture may result. The implement used for this purpose was the *skeið*, a sword-shaped (cf. Fritzner, *Ordb.*) implement or batten, the place of which in the modern hand-loom has been taken by the 'reed.'

3. *Gengr Hildir vefa*, etc. *Hildir*, *Hjörðrimul*, etc. are evidently the names of valkyries. *Hildir* is named among the valkyries in *Völuspá*, str. 31 and *Grímnismál*, str. 36. *Svipall* is one of the names applied to Othin in *Grímnismál*, str. 47; *Sanngríðr* is possibly to be identified with *Randgríð*, one of the valkyries mentioned in *Grímnismál*, str. 36.

hjalmgagarr, lit. 'the dog of the helmet,' i.e. the sword, a *ἀπ. λεγ.* *Gagarr* is a Gaelic loan-word.

4. *Vindum vef*, lit. 'We are twisting the web,' i.e. passing the threads of the weft alternately under and over those of the warp. *Vindum* may be imper. (let us weave), though on the whole I think the indic. is more likely. The *vefr darraðar* is, of course, the battle, and the weaving of the web of spears and the singing of the lay form a spell by which the fate of the battle is governed, and safety ensured for the 'young king.' It is curious that in the Irish account of the battle also as related in the *War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*, p. 175, superhuman beings are said to have taken an active interest in the course of the conflict:

'And there arose a wild...vulture, screaming and fluttering over their heads...and the witches, and the goblins, and the ancient birds, and the destroying demons of the air and of the firmament, and the feeble demoniac phantom host; and they were screaming and comparing the valour and combat of both parties.'

For the word *darraðar* (nom. *darraðr*) which occurs also in Egill's *Höfuðlausn*, composed in 936, cf. p. 115 above. It appears to be an A.S. loan-word in Norse, possibly acquired about this time. It occurs also in *Atlakviða*, str. 4. Cf. also the *Hättatal*, str. 52.

sás. I have kept the reading of the mss., though it involves omission of the relative—an unusual and awkward construction. Most editors emend to *þann's* ('the web which,' etc.). Heusler emends to *svá sem*; but I am inclined to suspect that the corruption lies in the second half of the line.

ungr konungr. Cf. Introduction, p. 116 above.

átti fyrri. The force of *fyrri* is not clear. Is it the nom. sing. of the compar. adj. ('which the young king has been the first to own') or is it the compar. adv. ('which...has had previously,' cf. F. Jónsson, *Brennu-Njáls saga*, Halle, 1908, p. 415, n.)? Equally uncertain is the object to be understood as governed by *átti*. Does it refer to battles, or can it be some new spell being produced by the loom, which no one has had (i.e. has had the benefit of) before? The edition of 1889 suggested *höndum* after *fyrri* (or *fyrri*, cf. ms. F).

5. *Ok...fylgjum*, or perhaps 'We will afterwards aid.'

siklingi. Cf. Introduction, p. 116 above.

bragna, so F. Jónsson, Heusler, Ásmundarson, etc. following the emendation of Thorkelsson and Gíslason. mss. E, F read *þar sia bragnar*. *Bragnar* is a poetical word for warriors, only used in this sense in the pl. Cf. F. Jónsson, Dict. s.v. Magnússon, however, following ms. A, reads *þar sá bera*, which involves no emendation, and translates 'There Gunnr and Göndul saw borne (saw men bear) bloody shields.'

Gunnr ok Göndul, names of valkyries. Cf. *Hákonarmál*, str. 1 and note. *Gunnr* is another form of *Guðr*, mentioned in *Völuspá*, str. 31, etc. The name first occurs in the Runic Inscription of Rök.

6. *Þars vé vaða*. It is interesting to note that Earl Sigurðr was slain bearing the famous Raven Banner given to him by his witch mother with the words: 'It will bring victory to those before whom it is borne, but speedy death to him who bears it' (*Orkneyinga Saga*, ch. 11). With this passage we may compare the *War of the Gaedhül with the Gaill*, p. 155 f.: 'King Brian looked out behind him and beheld...the lucky, fortunate banner that had gained the victory in every battle and in every conflict and in every combat.'

vé...vígra manna. I have taken this as poet. pl. for sing., referring to the 'young king.' This interpretation is suggested by the following line, though the passage may of course be taken otherwise. Cf. note to *farask* below.

látum eigi, etc. F. Jónsson and Magnússon treat *látum* as imper., 'Let us not,' etc.

farask. Dietrich, followed by Pfeiffer, emended the reading of ms. F (*her*) *svaraz* to *sparaz*, 'be spared.' In this case the reference would be general, and *vígra manna* would have the true plural sense.

eigu valkyrjur, etc. So F. Jónsson in his edition. In the Dict., however, he takes *vals um kostum* as 'prospect of slaughter.' Magnússon understands *kostr* in its primary sense of 'choice,' and translates 'among the doomed our choice is ample' ['and therefore we can afford to spare him']. Cf. *Grímnismál*, str. 14.

7. *Þeir munu lýðir*, etc. refers to the Norse settlers in the British Isles, probably with special reference to Ireland. The extent to which they occupied the coasts is shown by the large number of place-names which have survived, e.g. Waterford, Wexford, Howth, etc.

útskaga. According to Fritzner and Vigfusson *skagi* denotes a low-lying headland, e.g. the Skaw in the north of Jutland, as opposed to *höfuð*, a high headland, e.g. Howth.

rikkjum gram. According to F. Jónsson the reference here is to the death of Brian Borumh; but is it not more natural to connect l. 3 with l. 4 which presumably refers to Earl Sigurðr? Cf. p. 116 above.

8. *Ok munu Írar*, etc. The reference here is probably to the death of Brian Borumh. Cf. however p. 116 above.

ýtum. *Ýtar* was originally a national name (like *Gotar*, etc.; cf. below) identical with Bede's *Iuti*, a variant of *Jótar*, but preserved in poetry in the sense of 'men' after its proper meaning had been forgotten. Cf. *Hákonarmál*, str. 1, note s.v. *Gautatýr*.

nús vefr ofinn, etc. The connection between the chanting and weaving of the spell and the course of the battle is here clearly indicated.

læspjöll gota, lit. 'news of the destruction of men.' So F. Jónsson and Heusler. Magnússon translates 'the news of the loss of life.'

Vígfusson and Powell take *læ. gota* to mean 'devastation of the Goths,' which cannot be right. *Læspjöll* is a *āπ. λεγ.*, probably 'baleful tidings.' *Læ n.* means primarily 'fraud, deceit,' then 'plague, evil.'

Gota(r), originally a national name (i.e. Goths) which was used in poetry in the sense of 'men' after its original meaning had been forgotten. Cf. *gítum* above.

9. *Es*, possibly causal. Cf. *Hrafnsmál*, str. 2, l. 2.

sóknvarðir...kunnu. The mss. vary considerably in their readings at this point. Heusler, following Dietrich, Pfeiffer, Egilsson and Thorkelsson, adopts the reading of mss. E, F—*spár várar springa kunnu*, 'while our prophecies are fulfilled,' i.e. 'come true' (the metaphor in *springa* being taken from the chips of divination); *springa*, however, is not used in this sense elsewhere. Heusler himself suggests as an alternative meaning 'to spread,' and compares A.S. *springan*. The reading in the text is that adopted by Magnússon, F. Jónsson, and Ásmundarson. *Sóknvarðir* is a *āπ. λεγ.* not mentioned in the dictionaries of Egilsson, Vígfusson or Fritzner; but *sókn* occurs with a similar meaning in other compounds, and *sóknvarðir*, 'dames of battle,' is no doubt identical in meaning with *geirfljóð*, str. 10 below.

10. *Sigrljóða fjöld*. I have adopted Heusler's emendation *ljóða* for *hljóða*, the reading of the mss. The same mistake occurs elsewhere, e.g. *Hyndluhljóð*, the title of the poem in the *Flateyjarbók*, Vol. I, p. 11.

geirfljóða ljóð. Heusler, following ms. A, reads *geirljóða fjöld*, 'many spear lays,' or 'a long spear lay.' But this reading is surely a scribal reminiscence of l. 3 above. The readings of mss. E, F, I are perhaps due to the same cause. It seems on the whole preferable to emend to *ljóð* (as in l. 2) in place of *hljóð*, since 'spells' rather than tunes seems to give the sense required.

11. *Ríðum hestum*, etc. Heusler suggests that two lines have been lost after l. 1.

THE SONATORREK, ETC.

EGILL'S POEMS (pp. 129, 130)

1. *Pundar*. *Pundr* is Othin (cf. *Grímnismál*, str. 54), and *Pundar gnýr* a periphrasis for 'battle.'

grær. If we are to believe that these strophes were composed by Egill immediately after the battle, *grær* must be taken as fut., and *hlóðk* in str. 2 rendered by 'I have covered' etc.

2. *Fyr merkistangir*, lit. 'in front of the pole on which the standard is carried.'

Adils, one of the jarls who opposed Aethelstan. With his brand he slew Thórólfr. He was himself slain in the same battle by Egill. Cf. ch. 54.

Naðri. *Naðr*, i.e. 'Viper,' 'Adder,' was the name of Egill's sword. Cf. ch. 53. Cf. also the *Battle of the Goths and the Huns*, str. 9, note s.v. *Tyrfsngr*.

Aleifr, i.e. Olaf the Red. Cf. p. 126 ff. above.

Hringr, one of the jarls who fought against Aethelstan's army. Cf. note to the poem on Aethelstan, s.v. *þrjá jöfra* below.

Foldgnárr. The meaning is unknown. In his ed. of Egilsson's Dictionary Finnur Jónsson suggests the emend. to *fald-gnú*, which he takes with *hjaldr*, the whole expression meaning 'the goddess of the battle-headgear,' i.e. the valkyrie. Then *hjaldr-fald-gnúarsnerrandi* would mean 'strengthened of the valkyrie,' or 'of battle,' i.e. warrior.

Ellu, i.e. *Ælla*, the usurping Northumbrian king who reigned 863-867 and who, according to Norse tradition, captured and put to death Ragnarr Loðbrók. The description of Aethelstan as *nið Ellu* would not seem to be a particularly happy one.

höfuðbaðmr. This word occurs again in *Arinbjarnarkviða*, str. 17, where it appears to mean 'grandson.'

þrjá jöfra. The saga itself would suggest that the 'three princes' were Olaf, Hringr and Aðils; but the true history of the struggle has become altogether distorted in Norse tradition, and we are not in a position to say who were the princes referred to by the poet. Olaf himself was not killed in Aethelstan's lifetime.

hyrjar hrannbrjótr, for *hrann-hyrjar-brjótr*, lit. 'the distributor of the fire of the wave,' i.e. 'of gold'—a common poetic periphrasis.

hæst...hreinbraut, lit. 'the highest path of the reindeer,' a metaphor doubtless borrowed from the mountain ridges of Norway—though there were reindeer in Scotland long after this time.

THE SONATORREK

1. *Mjök erum*, etc. The opening of the poem is far from clear. I have followed the reading of M and W, though I do not understand *loftátt*. Presumably it is either a kenning for 'mind' or 'mouth,' or else a term descriptive of the stock (type) of poem required. Most editors emend the reading of K to *loftvægi* (which they translate 'pendent weight') and for *prúðara* read *pundara*, understanding the passage as a metaphor from the steelyard. Cf. Vígfusson and F. Jónsson, Dicts. s.v. Cf. also B. M. Ólsen, 'Versene i Egils Saga' in *Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi*, Vol. xv (1903), p. 125.

erum, *era*. These apparently are the forms used by M and W. In the remaining strophes I have in general used the forms printed in V. Ásmundarson's edition, though I have substituted *um* for *of*, since the former appears to be the form used in the mss.; but owing to the absence of a satisfactory critical edition it is very difficult to ascertain the exact forms used in the mss. for the most part.

era...þýfi, lit. 'The stolen property of Othin is not to be looked for.' *Vípur* is one of Othin's names (cf. *Grímnismál*, str. 49) and *Vípur þýfi* is poetry. Othin is said to have stolen the mead *Óðrærir* from the giant Suttungr and given it to the Æsir, whence comes poetic inspiration to the Æsir and to men. Cf. *Bragaræður* (*Skáldskaparmál*, ch. 1).

2. *Fagnafundr...niðja*, i.e. poetry. Cf. str. 1, note to *Víðurs þýfi*. *F. niðja*, i.e. the Æsir; here Othin. Frigg is the wife of Othin. Cf. the prose at the beginning of *Lokasenna*, and str. 26 *ib*. Cf. also the strophe on p. 78 above and note.

árborinn ór Jötunheimum. Cf. str. 1, note. *Jötunheimar* is the abode of 'giants' (*jötnar*). Cf. *Völuspá*, str. 8; *Prose Edda*, *pass*.

3. *Lastalauss*, etc. The meaning of the first half of this strophe is obscure, owing apparently to textual corruption in l. 2. Cf. F. Jónsson, note to the passage in the edition of 1894 (Halle), p. 303, and V. Ásmundarson, ed. of *Egils Saga* (Reykjavík, 1910), p. 305 n.

Bragi. Cf. *Eiríksmál*, str. 2, note.

jötuns hals undir, etc., lit. 'The (blood of the) wounds of the giant's neck are roaring,' etc. The giant is *Ymir*, and the blood which flows from his wounds is the sea. Cf. *Vafþrúfismál*, str. 21; *Grímnismál*, str. 40; *Gylfaginning*, ch. 48.

naustdurum, lit. 'the doors of the boat-house.' F. Jónsson thinks that the allusion is probably to the barrow constructed for Egill's kinsmen, perhaps because it stood beside the sea (on *Digranes*). Cf. str. 25, note to *á nesi*. Cf. also *Egils Saga*, ch. 78.

4. *Hræbarnar*. Early editors, e.g. Dietrich and Pfeiffer, kept the reading of K; Wisén emended to *lágir*. V. Ásmundarson (Reykjavík, 1910) prints *hræbarinn*, agreeing with *hilmir* (cf. note below); Vígfússon read *hræbarinn hlímar* and translates 'crushed.' F. Jónsson, at the suggestion of S. Bugge, in the 1894 (Halle) ed. gave *læbarnar* 'felled by the storm.' In his Dict., however, he goes back to the reading of K and translates 'slået til lig (?)' but suggests that the word is probably a ms. error for *hreggbarinn*. He prints the latter in the 1913 (Copenhagen) edition, but omits the word from his Dictionary.

hlínir marka. The form *hlínir* as it appears in K is uncertain. Early editors, e.g. Dietrich and Pfeiffer, print *hlímar*, which they translate 'branches.' Wisén emends to *lamðar*, but omits the word from his vocabulary. F. Jónsson in the 1894 (Halle) ed. gives *límar* and translates 'boughs (of the forest), tree.' V. Ásmundarson (*op. cit.* p. 245) gives *hilmir*, 'monarch.' In his Copenhagen ed. of 1913 F. Jónsson has altered his text to *hlymnir*, 'maples.' Cf. also his Dict. s.v. *hlínnar*. Cf. further B. M. Phillpotts, *The Elder Edda* (Cambridge, 1920), p. 33.

6. *Á frændgarði*, lit. 'in the courtyard or dwelling made of relatives,' i.e. the sea has made a breach in the defences offered by many kinsfolk. The *frændr* are thought of as forming a wall or barrier round Egill.

7. *Rán*, the wife of *Ægir*, identified with the sea. Cf. *Skáldskaparmál*, ch. 25; *Völsungasaga*, ch. 14. She and her husband are spirits of the sea. She was said to have a net in which she caught those who were drowned. Cf. *Skáldskaparmál*, ch. 33; also prose at the beginning of *Reginismál*.

ryski. The meaning of the word is uncertain. Elsewhere it is only used reflexively, in the sense of to be 'struck, broken.'

ástrvinum, probably poet. pl. for sing.

8. *Sök...rækak*, lit. 'prosecute (my) suit.'

ölsmiðr. The *ölsmiðr*, 'beer-brewer,' is *Ægir*, the husband of *Rán*, who was said to have brewed ale for the *Æsir*. Cf. *Hymiskviða*, str. 1—3, 43; *Grímnismál*, str. 45; also the prose introduction to *Lokasenna*.

allra tíma. I have followed F. Jónsson in the interpretation of this phrase which does not appear to occur elsewhere. Cf. Wisén, *Carmina Norrœna*, p. 129.

Ægis mani, i.e. *Ægir's* bride, viz. *Rán* (cf. str. 7 above, note), here perhaps used of the sea generally.

10. *mínn...áttar skjöldr*, lit. 'my shield of the race.'

aflífi, lit. 'bereft of life, dead.' Cf. M. Ólsen, *Ark. f. Nord. Filol.*, Vol. xxxi (1918), p. 142.

11. *Randviðr*, lit. 'shield tree,' a kenning for 'warrior.'

Hergautr is a name for *Othin*. *Gautr* is one of the names by which *Othin* calls himself in *Grímnismál*, str. 54, cf. *Hákonarmál*, str. 1, n. F. Jónsson (who apparently takes *hendr* as acc., and *taki* as 3 sing.), regards the name here as a kenning for 'warrior,' and suggests *unz...*

tæki, 'until he came to a warrior's estate, became a full-grown doughty warrior.' He suggests however that the text may possibly be corrupt. Cf. Dict. *s.v.* *Vígfusson* and Powell translate 'till the hands of the Lord of Hosts gathered him,' i.e. 'until he had been slain in battle.'

13. *Ma biarnar*, unintelligible. F. Jónsson suggests *mána brúðar*, and translates *m. b. byrvind* as 'favourable breeze of the giantess,' which is supposed to be a periphrasis for 'soul,' 'mind.' Vígfusson and Powell emend *m. b.* to *Arinbiarnar*. Cf. note below *s.v. bræðra leysi*.

bræðra leysi, lit. 'lack of (the) brothers.' Egill here seems to refer for the first time to the fact that he has lost two sons. This at least seems more natural than to suppose that he should be deploring the fact that he had no brothers of his own. His only brother Thórólfr had perished probably more than thirty years before. Vígfusson and Powell read *bræðrahleyti*, and translate *Arinbiarnar* (cf. note above) *b. hl.* as 'Arinbiorn's foster-brotherhood.'

hildr. It is not clear whether the reference is to 'battle' or to 'litigation,' 'quarrel.'

14. *Óðræði*, so F. Jónsson. Cf. Dict. *s.v. Vígfusson*, however (cf. Dict. *s.v.*), understands 'counsel of wisdom,' or 'a council (?)' and translates the passage 'what other man shall stand by my side, as a friend, in the council?' i.e. 'where am I now to look for friendly help and comfort?'

of her gaurum. This half line is obviously corrupt. Rask reads *ef for of*. Transcript 252 reads *gor- for gaur-*.

varfleygr, so F. Jónsson (cf. Dict. *s.v.*). Vígfusson (Dict. *s.v.*) translates 'faltering in flight.'

15. *Mjök...selr.* This strophe is obscure throughout. *Elgjar galga*, inexplicable according to F. Jónsson (cf. Dict. *s.v.*). Ásmundarson suggested that it might mean 'country,' i.e. Iceland (*Egils Saga*, ed. Reykjavík, 1910, p. 306). Wisén also understood the word to refer to Iceland (cf. *Carmina Norræna*, Lund, 1886, Vol. II, p. 54, *s.v. elgr*). For a different interpretation cf. Vígfusson, Dict. *s.v.*

niflgóðr...selr. The meaning is uncertain. For a discussion of the word cf. F. Jónsson, Dict. *s.v. niflgóðr*. Cf. also Valdimar Ásmundarson, *loc. cit.*

niðja steypir, etc. It is difficult to believe that this can mean that only one who is a disgrace to his relatives will consent to receive wergild for his brother; the meaning of *steypir* itself, however, is quite uncertain.

17. *Né þann nið.* The text can hardly be correct since the ms. reading does not fulfil the alliteration. The adopted son is spoken of not in relation to the poet, but to the son whom he has lost.

nið...maðr, lit. (as) a relative (him) who is a man born to another.

18. *Býskips*. F. Jónsson emends to *býskeiðs*, 'the path of the bee,' i.e. 'air' or 'sky.' Dietrich, followed by Pfeiffer and Wisén, understood *býskip* as 'ship of the bee, or bees,' to which they attribute the same meaning. Valdimar Ásmundarson translates 'air,' 'air-dwelling,' 'heaven.' But is it not possible that the word is identical with the modern 'beeskip,' i.e. hive (used, especially in dialects, of the old-fashioned domed straw hives), the reference being in all probability to the family barrow in which Böðvarr was laid?

kynnir. The reference is no doubt to the members of the family who have died previously.

19. *Hrosta hilmir*, i.e. Ægir; cf. str. 8, note. *Hrosti*, the malt brew in the brewer's vat from which the plants have been extracted. Wisén emended *hilmir* to *vörðr*, F. Jónsson to *höfundr*; so also V. Ásmundarson, *loc. cit.* For various suggestions by early editors see Wisén, *Carmina Norrœna* (Lund, 1886), Vol. 1, p. 130.

á hendi stendr. V. Ásmundarson compares the idioms *liggja á halsi*, *standa á sporði*.

í árðar grímu, obscure. Wisén emended to *óro gr.* and translated 'noctem inquietam.' F. Jónsson omits from his Dict.

rýnis (F. Jónsson *rýnnis*), lit. 'knowledge of runes.' *r. reið*, 'the head' (F. Jónsson, Dict. *s.v.*). Vígfusson translated 'scrutiny,' 'contemplation,' and *r. reið*, 'the breast' (cf. Dict. *s.v. rýni*).

20. *Sun mín*, i.e. Gunnarr, who appears to have died of sickness. Cf. p. 132 above. *Sóttar brími*, lit. 'fire of sickness.'

vámæli. The ms. has *námæli* which, according to B. M. Ólsen, would mean (indulging in) 'censuring speech.' The alliteration requires *vámæli* (i.e. the censure of other people), as suggested by Ólsen in *Arkiv f. nord. Filol.*, Vol. XIX, p. 133.

21. *Upp...í Goðheim*. Cf. Introduction, p. 133 above.

Gauti spjalli, i.e. Othin, lit. 'friend of the Gautar.' *Spjalli* is one who converses as a confidential friend. Cf. *Hákonarmál*, str. 1, note *s.v. Gautatýr*.

ask, lit. 'ash-tree.'

22. *Geira dróttin*, i.e. Othin, who is generally represented as armed with a spear. Cf. *Hávamál*, str. 138; *Ynglingasaga*, ch. 9, etc. For further references, cf. Chadwick, *The Cult of Othin* (Cambridge, 1899), p. 6 ff.

vinat, α π. λεγ. F. Jónsson emends to *vinum*.

vagna rúni, i.e. Othin. According to F. Jónsson the phrase means lit. 'friend of cars,' *rúni* being identical in meaning with *spjalli* (str. 21 above). *Sigrhöfundr*. Cf. the name Sigtýr commonly applied to Othin, e.g. in *Atlakviða en Grænlenska*, str. 32; cf. also *Ynglingasaga*, ch. 6; the *Saga of Haakon the Good* (*Heimskringla*), ch. 14, etc.

23. *Bróður Vilis*, i.e. Othin. Cf. *Lokasenna*, str. 26; *Gylfaginning*, ch. 6.

Mims vinr, i.e. Othin. Cf. *Völuspá*, str. 46; *Sigrdrífumál*, str. 14; *Ynglingasaga*, ch. 4, etc.; *Háttatal*, in str. 3.

es et betra telk. F. Jónsson translates 'als das bessere (als einen Segen).' But is a comparison necessarily implied?

24. *Ulfs um bági*, i.e. Othin, who is to fight with Fenrisulfr, Loki's son, at Ragnarök. Cf. *Völuspá*, str. 53; *Vafþrúðnismál*, str. 53; *Gylfaginning*, ch. 34; *Háttatal*, str. 3.

visa...velöndum, lit. 'By which I have made openly discovered foes from intriguing (foes)'; or perhaps *velöndum* may be taken substantively, in which case the meaning would be 'I have made intriguers into openly known foes.'

25. *Tveggja bága*, i.e. Fenrisulfr. Cf. str. 23 above, note. *Tveggi* is Othin. Cf. *Völuspá*, str. 63. Cf. also F. Jónsson, Dict. *s.v. Tveggi*.

njörvanift. Most editors (e.g. Wisén, F. Jónsson, V. Ásmundarson) take this to mean 'full sister.' *Nift* can refer to any female relative. Vígfusson compares *nípt nara*, 'Hel,' *Höfuðlausn*, str. 10; and *nift Nera* (a Norn), *Helgakviða Hundingsbana*, I, str. 4. The sister of Fenrisulfr is Hel. Cf. *Völuspá*, str. 43, 51; *Gylfaginning*, ch. 34.

á nesi. The reference is presumably to the headland (Digranes) on which the family barrow stood. Cf. str. 3 above, note *s.v. naustdurum*.

THE BATTLE OF THE GOTHS AND THE HUNS

1. *Ár kváðu*, etc. Some editors (e.g. Vígfusson and Powell, Heusler etc.) believe that this strophe is part of a separate catalogue poem Cf. Heusler, *Eddica Minora*, p. lxxxviii f. Heinzel, however, appears to regard it as forming the introduction to our poem. Cf. 'Ueber die Hervararsaga,' p. 500.

Humla. For the names *Humli* and *Hlöðr* we may cf. *Humblus* and *Lotherus*, the sons of Dan, the first king of the Danes; cf. Saxo, Book I, p. 16. Cf. also p. 143 f. above. For a discussion of the various suggestions which have been made regarding the former name cf. Heinzel, 'Ueber die Hervararsaga,' pp. 461 ff., 490 ff. Cf. also V. Jagič, 'Slavisches in nordischen Sagen,' *Archiv für Slavische Philologie*, 1888, p. 307.

Gizur. *Gizurr Grýtingaliði* is the name of one of Angantýr's vassals mentioned below in the prose following str. 12. Cf. note s.v. He is perhaps the person referred to here. It was observed by Rafn (*Antiquités russes*, Copenhagen, 1850, Vol. I, p. 113), that he plays the same part as Eric in the version of the story given by Saxo, Book V, pp. 190 f., 194 f. Cf. also Heinzel, 'Ueber die Hervararsaga,' p. 496 f.

Gautum (nom. *Gautar*), the inhabitants of southern Sweden. Cf. *Hákonarmál*, str. 1, note s.v. *Gautatýr*.

Angantý. I have discussed elsewhere (*Stories and Ballads of the Far Past*, Cambridge, 1921, p. 82) the confusion with regard to Angantýr in the *Saga of Hervör and Heiðrek*. Cf. further, Heinzel, *op. cit.*, p. 494 ff.

Valdar. A Valdarr, ruler of the Danes, is mentioned also in *Guðrá-narkviða* II, str. 20, and in the *Saga of Hervör and Heiðrek*, ch. 16, but no story is known of him. The name is of course identical with A.S. *Waldhere*. The hero of the latter story is associated with France, however, never with the Danes. Cf. for further references, Heinzel, *op. cit.*, p. 500.

Völum Kíar. *Valar* is the general term used for Celtic peoples (including the Romans) in all Teutonic languages. In *Kíarr* it is natural to see *Caesar* (cf. *Widsith*, l. 76); but the loss of *s* requires explanation, and the name has given rise to some discussion. Cf. Bugge, *Arkiv*, xxvi, p. 58 f.; Heusler, *Eddica Minora*, p. LXXXIX; Heinzel, *op. cit.*, p. 501 ff. The form would seem to have come through an intermediate language. Heusler points out that the metre requires some such form as *Caesar*, and Heinzel regards the word as identical in origin with the *Sisar* in *Gautreks Saga*, ch. 4 (in a verse), 'a form borrowed through Russian.' He further compares this form with the titles *cjesari* and *cisari* preserved by Russian princes as late as the twelfth century. For further references cf. *Atlakviða*, str. 7; *Völundarkviða*, prose at beginning and str. 16; *Flateyjarbók*, Vol. I, p. 25; *Skáldskaparmál*, ch. 64.

Alrek. For a detailed discussion of the variant readings and suggested identifications cf. Heinzel, *op. cit.*, pp. 507—512.

2. *Hlöðr*. Cf. Introduction, p. 143 f. above.

þar...i Hínalandi, according to Heinzel an unfamiliar idiom in Norse poetry (cf. p. 142 above). It occurs however in prose, e.g. in the *Jónsvíkinga Saga*, ch. 6 (*Forn-Manna Sögur*, Vol. XI, p. 19), *þar i Danmörk*. The variations in the ms. readings here (p. 148, footnote 6) should not be overlooked.

i Hínalandi. Here the reference is obviously to the land occupied by the Huns at the time—which we must no doubt place somewhere

in the south of Russia. Owing to the extensive conquests subsequently made by the Huns, the term *Húnnaland* came to be used in poetry for a vast undefined area, including Germany, Poland, etc.—in fact almost equivalent to Central Europe. It is no doubt in this latter sense that we should understand *Húnnlenzkr* in *Hrafnsmál*, str. 8, unless *malmr Húnnlenzkr* is simply a kenning for gold.

saxi ok með sverði. The Saga explains: 'There was an old saying at that time that a man was "born with weapons or horses." And the explanation is that it referred to the weapons which were being forged at the time when the man was born; also to any sheep...and horses that were born about the same time. These were all given to high-born men as an honour to them.'

hringreiðum. Bugge translates 'richly decorated with rings,' and compares *Atlakviða*, str. 42. F. Jónsson translates 'supplied with a ring,' but suggests that the word may have arisen from a misunderstanding of *hringgreyp*, 'surrounded by a ring or border.' Cf. *arin greypo*, *Atlakviða*, str. 1 and Sijmons (*Die Lieder der Edda*, Halle, 1906, p. 424, note).

á...helgu, so Vígfússon, F. Jónsson etc. Bugge (cf. *Hervarar Saga*, p. 362) however regards *mörk* as a vague term for a district with natural boundaries ('not a forest'), and *m. h.* as the 'place where the king's residence together with the chief temple was situated.'

3. *Heiðrek(s)*—(nom. sing. *Heiðrekr*), the chief character in the *Saga of Hervör and Heiðrek*—the son of Höfundr, and father of Angantýr and Hlöðr. The same name occurs in the prose at the beginning of *Oddrúnargrátr*.

á Árheima. *Árheimar* is unidentified. Cf. p. 144 above. Cf. also Heinzel, *op. cit.*, p. 482 f.

4. *Segg...úti*, etc. With the arrival of Hlöðr at Árheimar we may cf. *Atlakviða*, str. 1 ff.; *Beowulf*, ll. 331—370.

síðförlan seems somewhat pointless. Can it be an unobservant scribe's emendation of *síðföru*?

5. *Beðskammi*, a ἄπ. λέγ. Bugge emends to *böðskái*, and translates 'warlike.' Cf. *herskár*, *vígskár*.

6. *Rymr vas í ranni*. Cf. *Hamðismál*, str. 18, 24; *Atlakviða*, str. 41. With this scene we may perhaps compare Jordanes, ch. xxxvi.

risu...góðum, i.e. 'with the nobly born,' viz. Angantýr. Bugge compares *Hamðismál*, str. 16, 21.

7. *Al ok af oddi*, etc. For the highly artificial diction of this and the following strophe, cf. *Atlakviða*, str. 5; *Helgakviða Hundingsbana* II, str. 35, and see p. 142. Vígfússon and Powell think that the passage reads like a legal formula. This strophe (perhaps str. 8 also) employs poet. sing. for pl.

einum. So F. Jónsson; Bugge suggests 'unique.'

8. *Hris þat et mæra*. The allusions throughout this strophe are obscure. The word *hris* is generally used of a smaller thing—thicket, brushwood. It is applied however to 'Myrkviðr' in *Atlakviða*, str. 5, also—here again in connection with the phrase *staði Danpar*. *Myrkviðr* occurs elsewhere in the *Edda*, e.g. *Helgakviða Hundingsbana*, I, str. 53; *Lokasenna*, str. 42 (where a mythical forest is referred to). Cf. further Heinzel, *op. cit.*, p. 481 f.

gröf þá ena helgu, etc. Ólfrík (*Danmarks Heltedigtning*, Vol. II, Copenhagen, 1910, p. 236) thinks that the holy grave is the mound in which, according to Danish tradition, King Dan was buried, and that the

stone was the *Dancerygh* on the top of which, according to the Chronicle of Leire (cf. p. 203), he had been crowned king. Cf. also Saxo, Book 1, p. 16. In the *Rígsþula*, str. 49, 'Dan' is mentioned together with 'Danpr,' which is there clearly regarded as a personal name; see below. Cf. also Munch, *Norske Folks Hist.*, p. 248, note; S. Bugge, *Hervarar Saga ok Heiðreks*, p. 362. For other suggestions cf. Heinzel, *op. cit.*, p. 478 f. Heinzel, however, who places Reiðgotaland, the scene of the poem, in southern Russia, takes the phrase in connection with *stein þann enn fagra*, and regards both as referring to the famous Cell of Kiev, which St Antonius hewed out with his own hand and where the Byzantine Church was built 1073-1089. The *gröf* would then be either the grave of Antonius himself, or the famous rock tomb of Askold who was slain by Oleg in 882. It seems to me difficult to believe that this is the place referred to, but I cannot suggest any explanation of either *gröf* or *stein*.

Gothjóðu. This name occurs in the fragmentary Gothic Calendar, (October 23), which celebrates 'the many martyrs among the Gothic people' (*ana Gutþiudai*).

á stöðum Danpar. Cf. *Atlakviða*, str. 5 (*staði Danpar*); *Rígsþula*, str. 49 (*Danpr*). Cf. also Bugge's note in his edition of the *Edda*, p. 149 f.; Heinzel, *op. cit.*, p. 472 ff.; V. Jagič, *Arch. für Slav. Philol.* Vol. xi, p. 305 f.; etc. The *Rígsþula* gives *Danpr* as a personal name, and the *Atlakviða* also must have understood it in the same sense; but there can be little doubt that this expression originally meant 'on the shores of the Dniepr.' Cf. Gothic *ana stapa* (d. sg.), A.S. *stæþ*. *Danaper* was the Gothic name for the Dniepr; cf. Jordanes, ch. 5. Heinzel (p. 479) thinks that the locality here referred to is Kiev, on the Dniepr (see above).

9. *Kaldr geirr*. Cf. *Beowulf*, ll. 3021, 3022.

Tyrþing(r). The famous sword forged by the dwarfs for King Svafrlami, and the heirloom of his family. Cf. the *Saga of Hervör and Heiðrek*, ch. 2. The history of the sword forms the connecting thread of the saga. It has been suggested that the name is derived from *tyrfi*, 'resinous fir-tree,' owing to its flaming like resinous fir-wood. F. Jónsson (Dict. s.v.), less probably, regards it as connected with 'turf' because it lay so long in the earth, or as equivalent to 'earth found.' For swords called by names ending in *-ing* cf. *Hrunting* in *Beowulf*, l. 1457; *Nægling*, *ib.* l. 2680; *Mimming*, *Waldhere*, l. 3, etc. etc. The custom of calling swords by personal names is found in Celtic as well as Teutonic records. Cf. the sword *Hipiclaour* 'worth seventy cows' mentioned as being given by Guengarth to one Connmogoy in the record of a donation quoted by Seebohm, *The Tribal System in Wales* (London, 1904), p. 222.

10. *Skalka*. Cf. p. 143 above. Cf. also Bugge, *Hervarar Saga*, p. 363. Heinzel's suggestion quoted on p. 143 can hardly be correct; for the Old Irish loan-word *scoloca* (Gael. *sgalag*), 'a servant,' shows that *skalkr* must have had this meaning in Norse during the Viking Age.

11. *Áðr á*. I have followed Bugge's emendation with some doubt. *Áðr átti* would be slightly nearer the ms. readings.

12. *Mun ek um þik*, etc. Cf. Waltharius, ll. 405-407:

'Hunc ego mox auro vestirem sepe recocto,
Et tellure quidem stantem hinc inde onerarem,
Atque viam penitus clausissem vivo talentis.'

According to the Frankish Chronicle Theodoric imposes on the Visigoths as a penalty for having deceived the Franks 'ut veniret

legatarius Francorum sedens super equum, contum erectum tenens in manum, ante aulam palatii Alarici et tam diu Alaricus et Gotthi super eum solidos jactarent, quosque legatum et equum et cacumine (read cacumen) conti cum solidis cooperirent.' Cf. J. Grimm, *Rechtsalterthümer* (Göttingen, 1828), p. 672. Cf. also *Skáldskaparmál*, ch. 39; Herodotus, Book VI, cap. 125; the Laws of Howel (*Welsh Medieval Law*, ed. A. W. Wade-Evans, pp. 226, 227): 'Whoever shall kill a cat which guards a barn of a king or shall take it stealthily, its head is to be held downwards on a clean level floor, and its tail is to be held upwards; and after that wheat is to be poured about it until the tip of its tail be hidden [and that is its worth].' Perhaps a relic of a similar idea is to be found in such criteria of measurement as that on p. 147, *ib.*

Þríðjung Gotþjóðar. According to Langobardic Law a legitimate son inherited two thirds of his father's estate, a natural son one third. Cf. J. Grimm, *Rechtsalterthümer*, p. 476.

Gizurr Gríftingaliði. A people called by what appear to be variants of this name is sometimes mentioned by ancient writers in connection with the Ostrogoths, with whom many scholars believe them to be identical. Trebellius Pollio refers to the *Trutung*i in *Claudius* 6 (i.e. probably *Grut(h)ungi*, cf. Claudii Salmasii *In Trebellium Pollionem Notae*, 44), while in Ammianus Marcellinus, XXXI, cap. 3. 1, they appear (more correctly) as *Greuthungi(s)*, and in Claudian, *In Eutropium*, Book II, l. 153 as *Gruthungi(s)*. The name also appears in the *Heimskringla* in the form *Gríftingr*, where it is used as the name of a king (in the *Saga of Harold the Fairhaired*, ch. 5) and as the name of a district on the Trondhjem Fjord (cf. the *Saga of Haakon the Good*, ch. 18, 19; *Saga of Olaf Tryggvason*, ch. 74).

fóstri Heiðreks. Cf. the *Saga of Hervör and Heiðrekr*, ch. 6.

13. *þíjar...þíjar*. Cf. *Sigurðarkviða en skamma*, str. 17; *Ásmundar Saga Kappabana*, ch. 9 (in a strophe).

á haugi. Cf. 'The Chronicle of Leire,' Langebek, *Script. Rer. Danicarum*, I, p. 224 (cf. *ib.*, p. 223, footnote). After the victory over the Germans the Danes 'carried him [Dan] to the stone which is called *Danærygh* and placed him on the top of it, and gave him the title of King.' The most interesting instance of the practice of sitting on a mound occurs in the *Saga of Harold the Fairhaired* (*Heimskringla*), ch. 8, where it is definitely associated with kingship. We may cf. further *Thrymskviða*, str. 5; *Völuspá*, str. 42. Further instances occur in *Skírnismál*, str. 11 and the preceding prose; the *Saga of Olaf Tryggvason* (*Forn-Manna Sögur*, Vol. II, p. 59 etc.). In the *Mabinogion* (transl. Lady Guest, London, 1904), p. 10, we are told that he who seated himself on a certain mound could not leave it 'without either receiving wounds or blows, or else seeing a wonder.' Cf. *Helgakviða Hjörvarðssonar*, the prose preceding str. 6. See also Bugge, *Hervarar Saga ok Heiðreks*, p. 363; Ólrik, 'At sidde på høj' in *Danske Studier*, 1909, p. 1 ff.; B. S. Phillips, *The Elder Edda*, p. 189.

öðlingr, i.e., according to Bugge, *Angantýr*, as opposed to *hornungr*.

14. *Drekka ok dæma*. Cf. *Rígsþula*, str. 31; *Sigurðarkviða*, str. 2. Cf. also Bugge, *Hervarar Saga*, p. 364.

dýrrar veigar. Cf. *Hyndluljóð*, str. 51; *Helgakviða Hundingsbana* II, str. 45.

djarfliga, so mss. The text cannot be correct since alliteration is wanting. According to Bugge *djarfliga* is not used in early poetry of this kind.

fram bera. Cf. *Beowulf*, l. 291.

15. *Rammlega*. Here again alliteration is wanting in all the mss. For the phrase *hildi heyja* cf. *Helgakviða Hundingsbana* I, str. 54, *Beowulf*, l. 425 f. etc. Bugge emends to *randir knýja* (from *Halfs Saga*, ch. 15).

íðlfvetra. I have followed Bugge in taking this as gen. pl. of a compound adj., lit. 'with a host of (men) twelve years old (and upwards).'

16. *Ríða...bera*, lit. 'ride and bring my shield to,' i.e. 'accompany,' 'support.' Bugge suggests that a number of words have been omitted after *bera*.

Gota þjóðum. The poem had no doubt originally the earlier form *Gotna* (*þjóðum*) which is generally used in the *Edda*. Cf. *Grímnismál*, str. 2; *Grípesspá*, str. 35; *Atlakviða*, str. 20; *Guðrúnarhvöt*, str. 2; *Hamðismál*, str. 3, 22, 30. Cf. A.S. *Gotena*, *Widsith*, ll. 89, 109 etc.

17. *Sviðin*. Is a conflagration implied, or does *sviðinn* refer to the enemy's camp fires? Cf. Saxo, Book V, p. 194.

Myrkviðar heiðr. Cf. str. 8, note s.v. *Myrkviðr*. For the form *heiðr*, having the sense of 'forest,' cf. Welsh *coed*; possibly also the *Silva Caesia* of Tacitus, *Annals*, I, 50. For the meaning cf. A.S. *fyrge*—with Go. *fairgum*; and A.S. *weald* with Northern mod. Engl. dial. *wold*; (cf. O.N. *völlr*—where the meaning is different again).

18. *Yðra þegna*. *yðra*, i.e. 'your and her': cf. *þína*, l. 2 above.

19. *Brúðar gangi*. According to Vígfusson (Dict., s.v.) this expression was used in Christian times for the bridal procession of women, first to and from the church, then from the bride's room to the *stofa*, where the wedding feast was held. Cf. Landstad, *Norske Folkeviser* (Christiania, 1853), Vol. III, p. 406, str. 12 and footnote 2; Vol. V, p. 854, str. 3 and footnote 2. Cf. also Bugge, *Hervarar Saga*, p. 365 f.

21. *Þann*. Bugge emends to *mann*. Possibly the poem originally had *þann mann*; but I do not think that it is practicable to restore the original words.

22. *Eyris*. In view of the following line it is just possible that the word *eyrir* may here preserve its original meaning 'gold coin' rather than 'ounce' (of silver).

skjallanda. Vígfusson and Powell suggest the emendation to *skillinga*. Bugge, however, understands by *skjal. skarfr* a piece of gold of sufficient weight to ring when thrown into a shield or bowl. *Skarfr* means a piece 'cut.' Cf. Aasen, *Norsk Ordbog*, s.v. *scarv*, m. 2; Fritzner, *Oldn. Ordbog*, s.v. *skjallr*. We may cf. the tribute mentioned by Saxo (Book VIII, p. 359) as paid by the Frisians to the Danes. For further references cf. Bugge, *op. cit.*, p. 366.

24. *At Dylgju*, etc. The places mentioned in this strophe are unidentified. Cf. p. 146 above, cf. also Heinzel, *op. cit.*, p. 481 ff.

á Dúnheiði. Heinzel suggests (*op. cit.*, p. 484) that this may mean the basin of the Danube. The Danube is referred to as *Dúná* in *Heilagra Manna Sögur*, I, p. 303. It is scarcely likely, however, that this region should be mentioned here—especially in a place-name derived from the Slavonic form of the river.

á...Jössurfjöllum, lit. 'on all the mountains of Jössurr.' Cf. however str. 26. For the variant forms cf. Heinzel, p. 484 f.

25. *Gnæfar...gunnfani*. Cf. *Hárbarðsljóð*, str. 40.

26. *Hræse...hvorju*. The ms. readings are clearly corrupt, though the general sense of the passage need not be doubted. Bugge reads *hræ se yðr* and emends *hvorju* to *hverri*. At *há* 'to battle,' occurs again in one of Sighvatr's poems quoted in *St Olaf's Saga* (*Heimskringla*), ch. 155. The nom. and gender of the word are unknown, unless it be identified (as by Vigfusson, Dict., s.v. III) with *há f.*, 'a hide,' etc. I am inclined to think that the original reading may have been *hræ hrjósi yður at há hverju*; cf. the readings of ms. u, quoted on p. 158 above, note 11. Cf. *Beowulf*, ll. 277 (*hræfyll*), 2488, and for the general sense *Beowulf*, l. 1042; *Ruin*, l. 18.

láti svá...flein fljúga. The dedication of an enemy's army to Othin before a battle appears to have been a common practice. Cf. *Völuspá*, str. 24; *Stjörbjarnar þátt*, ch. 2; *Eyrbyggja Saga*, ch. 44, etc.

27. *Arheimum*. Cf. str. 3, note.

28. *mikit es*, so mss. Bugge compares *Helgakviða Hundingsbana*, I, str. 52 and writes

mikit er
mengi þeira.

29. *Halir fjórtaldir*. The prose passage given on p. 154 above has *fernir fjórir tigur*, 'four times forty men,' whence no doubt Rafn (*Antiquités russes*, Vol. I, p. 203) inserted XL. before *fjórtaldir* here, though the result is to destroy the metrical form of the passage. There is, however, a curious resemblance between the figures which occur in this strophe and those given for the fleet of the Huns in Saxo, Book v, p. 191, p. 155 in Holder's ed. (Cf. Bugge, *Hervarar Saga ok Heiðreks* in *Norrøne Skrifter*, 286.) Saxo's words are far from clear—perhaps owing to a misunderstanding of his original—but they seem to imply that the numbers were in some way quadrupled. It is possible therefore that the author of the Saga misunderstood the numbers given in the poem.

30. *Basmir*. The word is not found in the mss., and the meaning is uncertain. Bugge adopts from Verelius, and (*Herv. Sag.*, p. 367) suggests the translation 'rings.' He suggested further that the word may be connected with *binda*. Vigfusson (Dict., s.v.) connects it with Norweg. *basma*, twenty threads of the warp (cf. Aasen, *Norsk Ordbog*, Christiania, 1873, s.v.), and suggests 'loom' as a possible meaning; but Bugge holds that this word is of later and foreign origin. F. Jónsson (Dict. s.v.), translates 'costly treasure,' and refers to Bugge's note. In *Rígsþula*, str. 39 another *áπ. λεγ. masmir* occurs in a very similar context, but a different alliteration is required there.

31. *Dómr Norna*. Cf. *Fáfnismál*, str. 11, 12. The norns were represented in Norse mythology as women with the power of shaping human destiny. Cf. *Reginismál*, str. 2; *Helgakviða Hundingsbana* I, str. 2; *Gylfaginning*, ch. 15, 16; Saxo Grammaticus, *Dan. Hist.* Book vi, p. 223. The conception is similar in many respects to that of the Greek *Moirai*.

APPENDIX

The list¹ of donations made by Bishop Leofric to the ecclesiastical library at Exeter is as follows :

Her swutelap on pissere Cristes bec hwæt Leofric ð hæfð gedon innto sancte Petres minstre on Exanceastre þær his bisceop-stol is. Ðæt is þæt he hæfð geinnod þæt ær geutod þær þurh Godes fultum and þurh his forespræce 7 þurh his gærsuma. Ðæt is ærost þæt land æt Culmstoke and þæt land æt Brancescumbe and æt Sealtcumbe 7 þæt land æt sancte Maria circean and þæt land æt Stofordtune and æt Sweartan wille and þæt land æt Morceshille and Sidefullan hiwisc 7 þæt land æt Brihtricestane (and þæt land æt Toppeshame ðeah ðe Harold hit mid unlage utnam²) 7 þæt land æt Stoce 7 þæt land æt Sydebirig 7 þæt land æt Niwantune 7 æt Norðtune (7 þæt lande æt Clift þe wid hæfde³).

Ðonne ys þis se eaca on landum þæt he hæfð of his agenum þæt mynstre mid gegodod for his hlaforda sawlum and for his agenre þam Godes þeowum to bigleafan þe for heora sawlum þingian sceolan, þæt is ærost þæt land æt Bemtune, 7 æt Esttune 7 æt Ceommenige 7 þæt land æt Doflisc 7 æt Holacumbe 7 æt Sudwuda, 7 he ne funde þa he to þam mynstre feng nan mare landes ðe ðider ynn gefylde wære ðonne twa hida landes æt Ide, and ðæron næs orfcynnnes nan mare buton vi⁴ hruperu.

Ðonne ys þis seo oncnawennis þe he hæfð God mid gecnawen 7 sanctum Petrum into þam halgan mynstre on circlicum madmum, þæt is, þæt he hæfð þider ynn gedon ii ð roda 7 ii mycele gebonede roda butan oþrum litlum silfrenum swur rodum 7 ii mycele Cristes bec gebonede 7 iii gebonede scrin 7 i geboned altare 7 v silfrene caliceas 7 iv corporales 7 i silfren pipe 7 v fulle mæssereaf 7 ii dalmatica 7 iii pistol roccas 7 iv subdiacones handlin 7 iii cantercæppa 7 iii canter stafas 7 v pællene woefod sceatas 7 vii ofer⁵ brædelsas 7 ii tæppedu 7 iii bera scin 7 vii setl hrægel 7 iii ricg-hrægel 7 ii wahræft 7 vi mæsene sceala 7 ii gebonede hnæppas 7 iv hornas 7 ii mycele gebonede candelsticcan 7 vi læssan candelsticcan gebonede, 7 i silfren stor cýlle mid silfrenum

¹ The list here given is based on that which is bound in the covers of the *Exeter Book* (cf. p. xii above). It appears that several copies of this list have been made at different periods for important libraries. A paper copy (C), no doubt made in the sixteenth century in a hand which has carefully copied that of the eleventh century list, is to be found in MS. 101 (f. 62) of the library given by Archbishop Parker to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Further copies are MS. Auct. D. ii, 16, fol. 1a—2b, in the Bodleian, Oxford, and MS. Harl. 258, fol. 125b in the British Museum. The list was first printed by Dugdale in *Monasticon Anglicanum* (London, 1655, cf. ed. of 1846, Vol. ii, p. 527) and was reprinted again by J. M. Kemble in *Codex Diplomaticus aevi Saxonici* (London, 1839—1848), Vol. iv, pp. 274—276 (No. 940). Extracts have also been published by Wanley in Hickeys's *Thesaurus* (London, 1705), Vol. ii, pp. 80, 279 f.; by Conybeare in *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (London, 1826), p. 199 f.; F. E. Warren in *The Leofric Missal* (Oxford, 1883), p. xxi; T. Wright in *Biographia Britannica Literaria*, Anglo-Saxon Period (London, 1842—1846), pp. 38, 39; etc.

² and...utnam interlinear gloss added later.

³ 7...hædde interlinear gloss added later.

⁴ vii Bodl.

⁵ of Bodl.

storsticcan¹ 7 viii læflas 7 ii gupfana 7 i merc 7 vi mid² reca 7 i firdwæn
 7 i cyste; 7 þær næron ær buton vii upp-hangene bella 7 nu þær synd
 xiv³ upp-hangene 7 xii hand-bella 7 ii fulle mæsse bec 7 i collectaneum
 7 ii pistel bec 7 ii fulle sang-bec 7 i niht-sang 7 i Ad te levavi 7
 i Tropere⁴ 7 se þriddan Saltere swa man singð on Rome 7 ii Ymneras
 7 i deorwyrðe Bletsing-boc 7 iii opre 7 i Englisc Xpes-boc 7 ii Sumer-
 ræding-bec, 7 i winter-ræding-boc 7 Regula Canonicorum 7 Martiro-
 logium 7 i Canon on Lædem⁵ 7 i Scrift-boc on Englisc 7 i full Spel-boc
 wintres 7 sumeres 7 Boeties boc on Englisc 7 i *mycel Englisc boc be*
gehwyrcum þingum on Leodwisan geworht 7 he ne funde on þam mynstre
 þa he to feng Boca na ma butan ane Capitularie 7 i forealdodne Niht-
 sang 7 i Pistol-boc 7 ii forealdode Ræding-bec swiþe wake 7 i wac Mæs-
 reaf. 7 þus fela Leden boca he beget innto þam mynstre: Liber Pasto-
 ralis 7 Liber Dialogorum 7 libri iv Prophetarum 7 liber Boetii de Con-
 solatione 7 Isagoge Porphirii 7 i Passionalis 7 liber Prosperi 7 liber
 Prudentii Psicomachie 7 liber Prudentii ymnorum 7 liber Prudentii de
 Martyribus 7 liber Ezechielis Prophetæ 7 Cantica Canticorum 7 liber
 Isaie Prophetæ on sundron 7 liber Isidori Ethimologiarum 7 Passiones
 Ap̃torum 7 Expositio Bedæ super Evangelium Lucae 7 Expositio Bede
 super Apocalipsin 7 expositio Bede super vii Epistolas Canonicas 7 liber
 Isidori de novo 7 veteri Testamento 7 liber Isidori de miraculis Xpi 7
 liber Oresii 7 liber Machabeorum 7 liber Persii 7 Sedulies boc 7 liber
 Aratoris 7 Diadema Monachorum 7 Glosæ Statii 7 liber Officialis
 Amalarii.

7 ofer his dæg he ann his capellum ðider binnan forð mid him silfum
 on eallum ðam ðingum þe he silf dide mid Godes þeninge on þæt gerad
 þæt þa Godes þeowas þe þer binnan beoþ æfre his sawle gemunon mid
 heora gebedum and mæsse-sangum to Criste and to sancte Petre and to
 eallum þam halgum þe þæt halige minster is fore gehalgod, þæt his sawle
 beo Gode þe anfengre. 7 se ðe ðas gyfu 7 þisne unnan wille Gode 7
 sancte Petre ætbredan si him heofena rice ætbroden and si he ecelice
 gniþered into helle wite.

¹ sticcan Bodl.² und Corp.³ xiii Bodl.⁴ 7 ii Salteras 7 se þr. etc. Bodl.⁵ leden Bodl.

